Rajiv Gandhi's Assassination:
The Mystery Unfolds

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Ramesh Dalal

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Dedicated to

All those who laid down their lives

for the Nation

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Chapter 1

Pre-Assassination Scenario

Political assassinations have occurred time and again in the chequered history of India. In post-independence India, the first such assassination was of the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi in 1948. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated on 31 October, 1984, and ex-Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi (RG) met the same fate on 21 May, 1991. Mahatma Gandhi's assassination was believed to be a conspiracy by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), though it was not clearly unveiled. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated at her official residence by her security personnel — but what prompted the assassin to pull the trigger that killed her? Was there a conspiracy? And if so, who were involved in it is again a big question mark.

RG had been the prime minister of the country for more than five years and, after the defeat of the Congress in 1989 elections and later the fall of Chander Shekhar government in March 1991, was fast coming back as a front-runner in the race for political power. He was on election campaign in Sriperumbudur near Chennai when he was assassinated by a 'human bomb' that killed 17 others, including the assassin, and injured 44. Investigation of the assassination was taken over by the Special Investigation Team (SIT) of Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) on 24 May, 1991 and a chargesheet

was filed against 41 persons accused in the conspiracy to assassinate the ex-prime minister. But were these the only accused? Or was there a much bigger conspiracy at the national and international level behind the assassination? — that remains a mystery wrapped up in an enigma till date.

RG, unlike his brother Sanjay, was initially an unwilling entrant in the political arena of the country. As an airlines pilot he was least interested in following the footsteps of his grandfather and mother — both of whom had been key players in the political arena. Sanjay was the one who was active in the political scenario and had become a front-runner in the power game. With the death of Sanjay Gandhi in a plane crash in mid-1980, and at the insistence of his mother Indira Gandhi, then the prime minister and Congress president, RG reluctantly entered politics. He contested and won the Lok Sabha by-election from Amethi (which was represented by Sanjay Gandhi prior to his death) in 1980. He was appointed general secretary of the Congress on 2 February, 1983. The political scenario at that time was charged with hostility and intrigue, with the Sikh militants in Punjab raising a demand for a separate state of Khalistan. This had culminated in Operation Blue Star when the army entered the Golden Temple from where Jarnail Singh Bhindranwala was masterminding the Khalistan movement that had led to a hostile confrontation between the Hindus and the Sikhs, and had the active support of ISI from across the border backed by CIA. Indira Gandhi did succeed in curbing the militants, but she earned the wrath of part of the Sikh community who were pro-militants and resented the intrusion of the army in the Golden Temple. As a result, she was assassintated as a serving prime minister at her official residence on 31 October, 1984.

The assassination of Indira Gandhi resulted in unprecedented riots in the nation's capital. His mother's death had come as a bolt from the blue for Rajiv Gandhi and he had, in his grief, no idea of the violence that had engulfed

the capital. The durability of the Nehru dynasty was such that though he had been in active politics for less than four years and had held no office in the previous government, the president swore him in as the prime minister. Later the Congress Parliamentary Party unanimously elected RG as the party leader in the Lok Sabha and he thus become the youngest and the most inexperienced prime minister that the country had ever had. One of the first things that he did as the prime minister was to act decisively and summon the army to put an end to the mayhem that was going on in the nation's capital after the assassination of his mother.

Overnight RG was a changed man. Now that he had come into politics, he spoke of bringing India into the 21st century. A young and vibrant man that he was, he set about liberalising the country's economy so that Indians could exploit their talents and move forward in trade and industry. As prime minister, RG could do no wrong — that was the general impression after he had been in office for just one year. Even the opposition that was always on its toes to find fault with the government had very little to criticise. The press called him 'Mr Clean' because he promised to root out corruption from the body politic of the country. This, however, was not to be. Soon the 'Mr Clean' image was tarnished when there came a series of alleged scandals. A senior colleague VP Singh — who later became the prime minister — resigned from the cabinet on the ground that the government was hesitant to investigate the alleged scandals. Singh later came in open confrontation with RG, resigned from the party and formed a new political front called Jan Morcha which was later merged with Janata Dal. Though the opposition's allegations were not proven despite the furore in and outside the Parliament, the press dropped the 'Mr Clean' prefix from RG's name. What was more, powerful vested interests had aligned themselves against RG, and that made him back down on some economic reforms that the

party members said were contrary to the socialistic traditions of the Congress.

RG was the first prime minister of India who had increased the defence budget twofold during his tenure. He was fast emerging as an international leader and posed a challenge to the superpower hegemony in the region. The United States had become alert to the challenge from RG. He was a prime minister who planned his work and worked his plan, and the major political parties had little ground to oppose his policies and programmes. RG started to negotiate with groups of sectionalists in Punjab, West Bengal, Assam and Mizoram, etc. with the aim of bringing the separatist groups back into the national fold. Terrorism and separatism was getting a lot of aid from across the borders of the country and from the super power. RG sat on the negotiating table with sectionalist and separatist groups — with the prime aim of keeping India united. He signed accord after accord in the national interest. He signed the Punjab accord with Sant Harcharan Singh Longewal even when he knew that the accord would weaken (or deplete) the Congress vote bank in that state. RG held the assembly elections in Punjab, in the autonomous body of hills in West Bengal and in Assam after signing accord with the leaders of the separatist movements. The Congress suffered defeat from the groups that had gained by signing the accord. RG was sacrificing Congress hegemony and handing over the governance of the states to the groups that had led the movements. If RG would not have resolved the problems of Punjab, Assam and Gorkhaland of Bengal, interested foreign powers would have intervened and used the dissident groups for augmenting terrorism and damaging and dividing the country. RG faced criticism within the party on this account, but he opted for strengthening the country even at the cost of loss to the Congress vote bank. I would even like to say that RG protected the integrity of the country and buried forever the concept of separate states. This probably was the reason why the super-power USA, who

then was totally pro-Pakistan, wanted to finish RG politically (if not physically). Chandra Swamy (CS) was (and is) a foreign agent who not only had a great influence on the political parties but handled the CIA network in India. CIA played various games in Indian politics, and campaigns were started to finish off RG politically. CS was playing an active role on behalf of CIA and persuading Congressmen to challenge the leadership of RG within the party. Even an attempt was made to persuade the then President of India Gyani Zail Singh by offering him rupees 40 crore to dismiss the RG government. The opposition leaders were promising Gyani Zail Singh to support him in the coming presidential election. Politically RG was 'assassinated' during his tenure as the prime minister. It is my firm belief that RG was being challenged and his reputation being damaged in the public eye by the agents of powers that he wanted to get rid of. Ambitious and power-hungry leaders of the Congress and other parties were frequently meeting and discussing how RG could be removed from the presidentship of AICC and the prime ministership of the country. Even those whom RG had trusted betrayed him. Of the few exceptions, Arjun Singh was asked by RG to leave his post of Madhya Pradesh chief minister and take over as governor of riot-torn Punjab where terrorism was at its peak. People had started to think as to what will be the future of Punjab — will it remain a part of India or will India be divided again by the creation of Khalistan with the support of ISI and CIA. If RG failed to solve the problems of Punjab, Assam and the hilly area of West Bengal, the country was likely to face divisions in these parts. RG had urgent and immediate need for strong and trusted men who could help solve these problems. Though Home Minister Buta Singh was from Punjab, RG entrusted the job to Arjun Singh. After a series of accords, RG brought Arjun Singh into the national politics. After the Punjab accord, Arjun Singh was fielded from South Delhi parliamentary constituency in a by-election as the seat was vacant due to the murder of the prominent trade

union leader Lalit Maken. RG also appointed Arjun Singh as the vice-president of AICC. Congress leaders opposed to RG were persuading the Congress Working President Kamlapati Tripathi to speak against the policies of RG on various fronts. Dissidents were blaming Arjun Singh on many issues, and RG understood that the criticism of Arjun Singh was indirectly an attack on his leadership since he was the one who had brought Arjun Singh to the national fold. Senior leaders of the Congress were issuing statements that RG was bending before regional and sectionist powers because of the wrong advice given by Arjun Singh. But RG had stuck to his ground and refused to change his policies under pressure. He went even further and, on the request of Sri Lankan government, took an active part in putting an end to fighting and bringing the Tamil Tigers and Sri Lankan government across the negotiating table to reach an accord. Groups of Sri Lankan Tamils, including the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), were called by him to India and, except LTTE, had agreed to the proposal of an accord. This was not what the agents of some foreign powers wanted, and they started to speak against the accord. The Sinhalese group blamed the Sri Lankan government for 'surrendering' before the Indian leadership of RG and said that the accord was in favour of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The LTTE supremo V. Prabhakaran opposed the accord saying that it was against the interests of Sri Lankan Tamils. RG had sent the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka to implement the accord. Those who blamed RG for the Punjab, Assam and Gorkha hills autonomous body accords were surprised that peace and democracy had been restored in a united India — thanks to the approach adopted by Rajiv Gandhi. Today some believe that the decision to withdraw IPKF from Sri Lanka was immature and biased. Had RG returned to power after the election of 1989, he would certainly have succeeded in bringing permanent peace in Sri Lanka. No government can

achieve its national and international goals unless there is peace in its territory and in the neighbouring countries. But peace was not what the terrorists wanted and RG started to face threats from various terrorist outfits.

The opponents of RG managed to oust him from power in 1989, but he continued to speak against terrorism and the powers behind it. He had opposed the attack on Iraq by countries led by the United States in 1990. RG had visited Iran and the erstwhile USSR and was playing an active role on behalf of the third-world countries, which perhaps was not to the liking of the superpower and other powerful countries in the international arena. The government led by Chander Shekhar was providing refuelling to the aircraft of the imperialist powers on their way to bombard Iraq. RG had opposed this policy as the then government was running with outside Congress support. After the division of Janata Dal and fall of VP Singh government, the political scenario had become clear and the Chander Shekhar government was not expected to continue for long. Chandra Swamy, on the other hand, was predicting that Chander Shekhar would be in power for several years. After the declaration of parliamentary elections in 1991, the political scenario had shifted in favour of RG and the Congress. Public and political analysts had started to say that RG was coming back to head a Congress government at the centre. National and international powers that were anti-RG had been alerted and RG was assassinated by a human bomb during the election campaign in Sriperumbudur, a small town about 40 km from Chennai at 2217 hours on 21 May, 1991. Unfortunately this day happens to be my birthday. After hearing the news of RG's assassination, I had several reasons to suspect Chandra Swamy's hand in a much bigger conspiracy to eliminate RG from the political scenario of the country.

RG's assassination case was probed by a Special Investigation Team (SIT) headed by DR Karthikeyan. Despite the prosecution of the accused, suspicion continued to loom

large about a much bigger conspiracy at national and international level behind RG's assassination. A few days after the assassination I had come to know about the role of Chandra Swamy who had started to cover up the evidence relating to the wider conspiracy behind the assassination. I had voiced my suspicions in July/August 1991 before the Jain Commission of Inquiry was set up. Justice MC Jain submitted his report on 7 March, 1998 to the Government of India. According to the findings of the commission, the accusing fingers of suspicion were pointing towards Chandra Swamy and Subramanian Swamy. The final report of JCI was tabled in the Parliament along with the Action Taken Report (ATR). The Government of India entrusted further probe against the suspected accused to Multi Disciplinary Monitoring Agency (MDMA) constituted under CBI. The probe is going on, but in between a book has come titled *The Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi* authored by Subramanian Swamy, former law minister, Government of India. Having read the book, I have a strong feeling that the book was purposely written to cover up or twist the evidences relating to the role of CIA, MOSSAD, Chander Shekhar, PV Narasimha Rao and OP Chautala. Subramanian Swamy has made several allegations against some of the top personalities in the national scenario today, including LK Advani, TN Seshan, Arjun Singh, George Fernandes, Mani Shankar Aiyar, Zafar Saifullah, Ram Jethmalani, Veer Sanghvi, Vinod Mehta and others. I feel that these personalities owe it to themselves to react and refute Swamy's allegations — but I would not be much concerned if they do not do that. I have a patriotic reason for writing this book because I feel it is high time to expose to the public at large who and what were the persons and agencies behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. I feel that I have the answers to what Subramanian Swamy calls "the unanswered questions", and I certainly have some queries that have remained "unasked". What I have to say in what follows will not only be of interest the Indians in India and abroad but

also to the people of the third world because RG was assassinated as the leader of the third world countries and a spokesman who went out of his way to highlight their problems in the international arena. RG's assassination had its ramifications worldwide, affecting international affairs international relations.

Chapter 2

Political Elimination of Rajiv Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi had entered the political field by contesting the by-election from Amethi Lok Sabha constituency in 1980 from where his younger brother Sanjay was elected earlier. He was also appointed general secretary of the Congress like his brother Sanjay. Indira Gandhi was drafting RG to lead the Congress and the country. From the outset, Rajiv was winning the faith of every youth Congress leader. His mother was assassinated on 31 October, 1984 at her official residence-cum-office 1 Safdarjung Road/1 Akbar Road. She lost her life because she had dared to fight against terrorist and sectionalist forces. The nation was sunk in grief — but one person, the godman Chandra Swamy, was busy trying to instal one of his disciples Pranab Mukherjee or PV Narasimha Rao in the seat of the prime minister of the country. I had come to know about the incident at about 2 Safdarjung Lane the residence of Shyam Sunder Mohapatra, former secretary general of AICC, whom I had come to meet. The capital was agog with anti-Sikh sentiments. Everyone was speaking against the Sikh community — at the bus stops, tea stalls, *dhabas*, restaurants and every *nook* and corner of the streets. Everyone had sympathy for Rajiv Gandhi but Chandra Swamy was lobbying to instal one of his disciples as the prime minister. RG was

on a visit to West Bengal and was being brought from Calcutta to Delhi along with Pranab Mukherjee by a special flight. In the flight itself Pranab had mooted the idea of there being an interim prime minister first because he was keen to take advantage of the situation for himself as he was number two in the cabinet after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Pranab Mukherjee and Narasimha Rao both were members of the Parliamentary Board, the highest body of the Congress, even above the Central Working Committee of AICC. This committee consisted of four or five top leaders including the prime minister. I had later cross-examined PV Narasimha Rao in the JCI proceedings regarding the existence of the Parliamentary Board. Although he had admitted the existence of the board, of which he and Pranab were members, he denied to have made the claim for the post of prime ministership. Shyam Sunder Mohapatra told me a few days after the assassination of Indira Gandhi that Chandra Swamy had convened a meeting of astrologers and politicians, including HN Bahuguna, Chander Shekhar, OP Chautala and Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari. Mohapatra had deposed before JCI regarding this meeting. He said that there was an argument amongst three astrologers about the place of birth of Rajiv Gandhi while discussing his horoscope. He did not know the astrologers but they had met at Sagar Apartments. Mohapatra also deposed that Sagar Apartments was a meeting place for Chandra Swamy, Chander Shekhar, Subramanian Swamy, OP Chautala and other MPs who frequently used to meet there. The meeting was immediately after Indira Gandhi's assassination and after taking over of the prime ministership by Rajiv Gandhi.

During his testimony, Mohapatra deposed that he could not say if the examination of horoscope was meant to ascertain whether RG could be physically eliminated. He said that only astrologers could say that. "The craze for knowing the horoscope need not necessarily be for political reasons, there could be personal reasons," he added. Mohapatra was

very evasive during his cross-examination in the witness box. Earlier he used to tell me that this meeting was a conspiracy and Chandra Swamy was keen to eliminate Rajiv Gandhi physically or politically. Mohapatra also told me that the astrologers were consulted to know the life span of Rajiv Gandhi and that Chandra Swamy was interested in someone else to be made the prime minister. Mohapatra had said that the Punjab extremists would not spare any progeny of Indira Gandhi. He revealed that the meeting was primarily to know as to how long Rajiv Gandhi would survive and the astrologers had predicted that RG's life span was very short. From the testimony of Mohapatra it is clearly borne out that Chandra Swamy was against Rajiv Gandhi from day one of his becoming the prime minister.

Lakhubhai Pathak deposed before the commission as witness no. 30 on 12 December, 1996. According to him he had met Chandra Swamy at his residence in London on 8 July, 1983. Later he had several meetings with Chandra Swamy and travelled with him to various places, including once from Santiago to Houston where Chandra Swamy introduced him to HN Bahuguna who was admitted in a hospital. From the hospital they went to the airport as they had to proceed to New York. While going to the airport on 2 January, 1984, Chandra Swamy said to him in the car that Bahuguna would become the president and PV Narasimha Rao the prime minister of India. Pathak had expressed his doubt as to how it would happen. Chandra Swamy had retorted angrily that he didn't know the power of *sant mahatma*. Pathak did not ask further saying "*woh to hai*" (that is true).

After the assassination of Indira Gandhi, Pathak wrote a letter to Rajiv Gandhi dated 14 November, 1984 that Chandra Swamy had collected 45 million US dollars, including 1 million US dollars from him. The letter said that the collected money would be used for obtaining the support of

opposition parties in order to make PV Narasimha Rao the prime minister. Pathak had also suspected Chandra Swamy to be behind the killing of Indira Gandhi for the same reason.[1]

It becomes evident from Pathak's letter and the statement of Shyam Sunder Mohapatra regarding the meeting at Sagar Apartments that Chandra Swamy was dead against Rajiv Gandhi from the very beginning. SS Mohapatra, Chander Shekhar, Pranab Mukherjee and PV Narasimha Rao were old friends of Chandra Swamy. When the election campaign for the Lok Sabha was going on in December, 1984 it had become clear that the Congress under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi would sweep the polls with a thumping majority since it was going to get the sympathy vote because of the assassination of his mother. But, according to the deposition of Lakhubhai Pathak, Chandra Swamy was to spend the money on the opposition parties to bring them in favour of PV Narasimha Rao to form the government after the elections. They were of the opinion that after the election, there would be a hung parliament and they would avail of the situation to make PV Narasimha Rao the prime minister with the support of opposition parties. Chandra Swamy had deputed Mohapatra for this work. Mohapatra had made a statement on 11 December, 1984 in *Jansatta* that Rajiv Gandhi would fail to lead the country.[2] He claimed that Congress would not get the majority because the sympathy wave would be over before the polling day. After having visited nine states, he claimed that as many as 130 dissident Congressmen former members of Parliament were contesting the elections against Congress candidates. He further claimed that he was visiting various parts of the country to organise the congressmen and, after the election, a new political scenario would emerge and the party would split on the issue of the formation of government even if it secured a majority. This statement issued by Mohapatra becomes very relevant in the light of Lakhubhai Pathak's statement and the incident at Sagar Apartments. But the

Congress swept the polls and secured two-thirds majority. Rajiv Gandhi became the prime minister again. Chandra Swamy, however, continued to play his role to topple the government of Rajiv Gandhi. He was interacting with dissident Congress leaders purposely to remove Rajiv Gandhi from the prime ministership.

Rajiv Gandhi was a changed man now. He was new in politics without any experience of governance, but, despite that, was leading the country on the basis of his own plan and programme, also including the policies of his mother. He was very much interested to solve the problems of Punjab, Assam, Mizoram and hilly area of West Bengal (Gorkhaland). He had sent Arjun Singh to Punjab as the governor because there was need for a strong, matured, experienced, trusted and effective politician to solve the burning problem of terrorism in Punjab. Rajiv Gandhi succeeded to sign an accord with Sant Harcharan Singh Longowal in Punjab. In fact, RG signed a series of accords with persons who were leading the movements on regional issues for tackling the problems of terrorism, sectionalism and regionalism. Close associates of Chandra Swamy made this an issue by criticising RG that he was unfit to govern the country. These dissidents were meeting very frequently to discuss the Congress policies and they were opposing RG.[4] He was aware of the political campaign against him and, therefore, he took disciplinary action by expelling Pranab Mukherjee, the former finance minister, Gundu Rao, the former chief minister of Karnataka and Prakash Mehrotra, the former governor of Assam. He had already expelled ex-MP Jambuwant Rao Dhote, ex-General Secretary SS Mohapatra and ex-Treasurer of Parliamentary Party FM Khan from the party. These leaders had formed a group in the name of Indira Loyalists and opposed RG tooth and nail. They had even gone to Rashtrapati Bhavan to meet Gyani Zail Singh, the then president of India, with a representation for the dismissal of

Rajiv Gandhi's government under Article 75 of the Constitution of India saying that he could not lead the country and had bent before the sectionalist powers in the country.[3] These leaders started to visit various parts of the country with the purpose of splitting the Congress and, finally, they called a covention of All India Congress (I) workers in Delhi, followed by one in Bangalore and later in Calcutta.[4] I had deposed before the commission that such a meeting was held at 18, Willingdon Crescent at the residence of Pranab Mukherjee in mid-1996 and was attended to by SS Mohapatra, Gundu Rao, AP Sharma, Prakash Mehrotra, Chandra Swamy and PV Narasimha Rao. All were former high dignitaries of the country, but PV Narasimha Rao alone was a cabinet minister of Rajiv Gandhi to attend the meeting. They discussed the plan to remove Rajiv Gandhi from the post of the president of All India Congress Committee as well as that of the prime minister. They also sought the opinion of the Congress stalwart Kamlapati Tripathi, and Gundu Rao and Mohapatra went to him to seek his opinion. He had advised that PV Narasimha Rao should be the prime minister and Pranab Mukherjee should be the president of AICC. With regard to this meeting, I had cross-examined PV Narasimha Rao who had denied having attended the meeting. During his cross-examination, he failed to reply to the questions properly and, from this fact, it had appeared that he was concealing the truth. Since the news of dismissal demand was the prime front-page item in all the national dailies, it was surprising that PV Narasimha Rao was unaware of it. The commission's counsel, SS Javali, had put a question as to which newspaper he (Rao) used to read. Rao had replied "Generally I read *Times of India*, and sometimes *Indian Express* and sometimes *Hindustan Times*, but generally I brouse through them and if there are any important reports, I go through them." Despite his admission that he did 'go through' *The Hindustan Times* to read 'important reports', he denied

having read about the memo of Pranab and associates for the dismissal of RG's government.

R Venkataraman has stated in *My Presidential Years* that he was "informed that his predecessor Gyani Zail Singh apparently gave an interview in the press about this time saying that Chandra Swamy wanted Shri PV Narasimha Rao to be the prime minister when there had been speculation about the dismissal of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi." In his testimony before the commission, Rao had denied having any knowledge of it. He also pleaded being ignorant of Gyani Zail Singh's letter to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, but he did acknowledge having met Chandra Swamy in New York at the UN Plaza Hotel. When questioned about his continued relations with Chandra Swamy and whether the latter had used his *tantrik* powers to help him in difficulty, Rao denied having any knowledge of this being so. Of his being a devotee of Chandra Swamy, Rao refused to say anything and said that he would give his reply 'in camera' but he did acknowledge that he knew about the activities of Chandra Swamy after 1980, and that Chandra Swamy had acquaintance with the top political personalities whom he called his *devotees*.

It becomes obvious that PV Narasimha Rao was trying to evade the issue and keep the commission in the dark about the ousting of RG from prime ministership because he himself, along with Pranab Mukherjee and Chandra Swamy, was involved in the process of ousting RG, which had the green signal from the veteran, old-timer Working President of the Congress Kamlapati Tripathi.

During his cross-examination by me on 2 May, 1997, Rao had replied that the sitting order in Indira Gandhi's cabinet was that Pranab Mukherjee used to "sit before my seat and that is why I said that he was number two and I was number three." I had put a question to him whether he knew that Pranab Mukherjee was appointed the president of West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee (WBPCC) after

his removal from the cabinet. He had replied "I do not remember. Shri Pranab Mukherjee was not included in the new cabinet. He was not removed from the cabinet." Surprisingly he was aware that Pranab Mukherjee was not included in the cabinet, but he did not remember when he was made the president of West Bengal unit. Who will believe Rao when he says that? With the admission of his relations with Pranab Mukherjee and Kamlapati Tripathi, Rao, lost his credibility. When I put another question to him whether he knew that Gundu Rao, SS Mohapatra, Pranab Mukherjee, Prakash Mehrotra, AP Sharma and Ashok Bhattacharya were expelled from the Congress by Rajiv Gandhi, he replied that he did not remember. I put another question to test his credibility after cornering him by several questions whether he knew that Pranab Mukherjee and Gundu Rao were members of the Congress Working Committee and when? He again replied that he did not remember. It is unblievable that he, being a member of CWC along with them, did not remember his colleagues who were his good friends. Rao had become confused and puzzled because he was very scared that I would be able to bring the truth from his mouth regarding his association with Pranab Mukherjee, Chandra Swamy and others in the attempt to remove Rajiv Gandhi from prime ministership. I again put an important question whether he knew that these leaders had formed the Rashtriya Samajwadi Congress after their expulsion from the Congress. First he replied "The question has not been put clearly" and later he replied "I have no knowledge of formation of Rashtriya Samajwadi Congress by these leaders and Pranab Mukherjee did not discuss or talk to me about the formation of his party." It is surprising that he had no knowledge of Pranab Mukherjee and other senior leaders being expelled from the Congress and forming Rashtriya Samajwadi Congress. He had reached the highest executive post of the prime minister in Indian democracy starting his political career as a deputy minister in Andhra Pradesh. All the political

workers of different parties knew even the small parties in existence, like Panther Party of Bhim Singh, Muslim League, Forward Block, Kerala Congress, etc., but he had no knowledge regarding the expulsion of his best friend Pranab Mukherjee and his party RSC. Simultaneously Pranab exposed Rao when he disclosed in his interview in the *Pioneer* dated 27 April, 1997 that:

> Rao Saab was one of those three people I had kept in touch within those two years when I was outside the Congress. The other person was Kamlapati Tripathi.

Yes, Rao had concealed the truth. It comes out in his own reply when he said, "Pranab Mukherjee did not discuss or talk to me about the formation of party". This clearly implies that Rao had discussed the prevailing political scenario with Pranab Mukherjee and such discussion would certainly have revealed the formation of RSC. He did not admit the said truth because he was scared of the role he had played with Pranab Mukherjee to topple the government. Rao was not speaking the truth before the commission. He knew that Chandra Swamy was inimical to RG and was also behind his murder. Therefore, Rao even went on saying that he had no knowledge of Chandra Swamy helping him by his *tantrik* power; while Chandra Swamy had said in his interview on 20 July, 1986 in *The Illustrated Weekly*:

> He (Rao) was one of my earliest devotees. I have stood by him all these years, helping him with all my *tantrik* powers whenever he was in difficlty.

Chandra Swamy had said this at the time when he was trying to topple the government of RG. He had given this interview at the very time when Pranab, Rao, Mohapatra, Mehrotra, AP Sharma and Gundu Rao had met at 18 Willingdon Crescent, New Delhi, the official residence of Pranab Mukherjee. Rao had not denied the claim made by Chandra Swamy in 1986 itself. The denial made by Rao in the year 1997 regarding the help of Chandra Swamy was

probably for the reason that he did not want his name to be associated with the conspiracy of RG's assassination. Rao had further told the commission that he would answer the question whether or not he was a devotee of Chandra Swamy 'in camera' but had added "I do not remember Chandra Swamy having helped me in any difficulty." Thus Rao was totally puzzled and nervous during his cross-examination. He was not even sticking to his own version. Earlier he, had denied that he had any knowledge of Chandra Swamy's help, but later he said that he did not remember. To the same question he had replied that he would give the proper answer 'in camera'. He had given three different answers to a particular question regarding the godman's interview in 1986. 'In camera', he had replied that being the prime minister he was a handicap in arranging some of his meetings with opposition leaders and therefore he was taking the help of Chandra Swamy. This was another contradictory statement for the fourth time.

I had not submitted material evidence to confront him that he had told a lie and was concealing the truth. I made a plan in my mind to get the opportunity to cross-examine him deferred. Therefore, knowingly, I put a useless question to make him annoyed and refuse to reply. I asked him whether he could tell the commission his caste, sub-caste and title. I was right. He became annoyed and he almost shouted saying that he was the prime minister of the country and would not answer such a question regarding his caste.

I again sought the time from the commission to further cross-examine him. Justice Jain had allowed me to cross-examine Rao after hearing my arguments. This time I had material evidence to confront Rao in order to test his credibility. He continued to conceal the truth purposely. He denied that he knew Adnan Khashogi and Steven Martin Del the author of *By Hook or By Crook* written about the character of Chandra Swamy. While Rao knew them as both had visited him at different times. They had also met Rao

abroad on CS's recommendation. I further asked him whether he knew Tiny Rowland. He admitted that Tiny Rowland had come to him once and had asked for an interview. This was a blatant lie because Tiny Rowland was one of the top international businessman having a chain of 300 branches of his companies in more than 50 countries. He was also the owner of the *Observer* newspaper of London. Such a businessman would not come to him for taking his interview. After my putting these queries to him, Rao had said that he had given the interview not to Rowland personally and that he had sent some correspondent or sub-editor. Once again he had changed the version. Nobody would believe the deposition of Rao when he states like this. Birla and Ambani are also owners of newspapers but they would never personally go to take interview of the prime minister because this is the job of correspondents and editors. Rao himself knows that no owner of a newspaper seeks any appointment for interview. I confronted him with the material evidence because I had personal knowledge of his involvement with Parnab and CS for ousting Rajiv. I asked him whether he was aware that seven top leaders of the Congress including Parnab had gone to the President of India Gyani Zail Singh with the demand of dismissal of Rajiv government under Article 75 of the Constitution of India. He denied that he had any knowledge. But this news had appeared in all the newspapers on 17 September, 1986 on their front page with photographs. Rao denied that it had come to his notice. When I told him that the next day *The Hindustan Times* had published an article criticising Pranab and others for wrong interpetation of Article 75 of the Constitution of India regarding the powers of the president to dismiss a constitutionally elected government of the country, he again said that he was not aware. That he was concealing the truth was evident from his own statement when he had agreed that he used to read *The Times of India*, *The Hindustan Times* and *Indian Express*. Pranab and other six top leaders had

gone to the president with the outside help of Rao and Kamlapati Tripathi, but Rao had denied being aware this move to oust Rajiv Gandhi. No one can believe Rao that he was not aware of the demand for dismissal of RG by the top leaders because he must have read the news in the papers and was a good friend of these top leaders. He was a cabinet minister of the government of which the dissmissal was sought. In case of dismissal he was going to be benefited, being an aspirant for the prime ministership of the country.

He availed of the benefit of doubt because he said he was not in Delhi or India and therefore he could not be aware of this major development. But during his further cross-examination by me, I had succeeded in proving that on that day Rao was in Delhi and had gone to Cochin the next day with Rajiv. Therefore, Rao had the knowledge and had knowingly concealed the truth because he was behind that move. His version, that he did not attend the meeting at Pranab's residence in 1986, lost his credibility. I had deposed truely regarding that meeting because the dismissal was sought by Pranab and others when the meeting was held. This was the period when Arjun Singh was assisting RG and Kamlapati Tripathi used to leak his letters to Rajiv to the press blaming that he was not following the old policies of Congress. During that period the dissidents used to attack Arjun Singh criticising that he was misguiding Rajiv. In fact, Arjun Singh alone was assisting Rajiv to solve the burning problems of Punjab, Mizoram, Assam and West Bengal. The terrorism was ended due to the series of accords which were signed by Rajiv. Khalistan and Gorkhaland would have been created by foreign powers to divide and to weaken India if Rajiv had not signed the accords in this respect. Punjab has become a peaceful state again due to Rajiv's approach for which he and Arjun Singh were being blamed by the dissident Congress leaders. It was unfortunate for the country and Congress that Rajiv was being opposed for his approach to keep India united and strong. Even the president of India was

playing in the hands of Chandra Swamy and dissidents of the Congress. Later a CBI raid was conducted and a proposed draft order of the president regarding the dismissal of Rajiv government was discovered from the Indian Express Guest House at Sunder Nagar, Delhi, in the third week of March 1987 where Chandra Swamy was also present. The seizure of President Zail Singh's proposed draft order dismissing RG's government unveiled beyond doubt the move of CS to instal Narasimha Rao as the prime minister.

Rājiv Gandhi was eliminated twice. Once he was eliminated politically when he was the prime minister and later he was killed physically. He was a dynamic and honest leader but his image was tarnished by the press. False allegations were levelled against him regarding his involvement in the Bofors deal. Chandra Swamy had the backing of all senior opposition leaders. I had submitted a press statement signed by Chander Shekhar, Devi Lal, Satya Pal Malik, KP Unnikrishnan, Ajit Singh and SS Mohapatra, along with other leaders which was issued to the press in support of Chandra Swamy blaming Rajiv Gandhi and claiming that he had the proof of Rajiv's involvement in Bofors.[5]

Chapter 3

Origin of Tamils/LTTE in Sri Lanka

Hundreds of years before independence, the landless people from South India had migrated to Sri Lanka (then called Ceylon). A small section of Tamil community had already migrated before the year 1700 in search of employment, but the main flow of the landless to Ceylon was after about 1834. Since 1827 Indian labour was working there under the most inhuman conditions. The so-called 'bonded labour' was no different from the slaves of olden times. The bonded labourers were working in the plantations in Ceylon during the British rule and were being exploited by the imperialist power. Ceylonese economy during the British rule was based on the plantation of coffee and tea. Coffee and tea, being cash crops, were dependent on seasonal labour. Therefore, during the period of plantation a large section of the unemployed from the villages in India went to Ceylon. More than 17,000 people every year were settling there permanently. There was also a majority of the plantation workers who used to go to Ceylon for seasonal labour and come back when the plantation season was over. But the plantation period of coffee and tea was the worst period for immigrant labour. They suffered the cruelest treatment. During 1840-47 approximately 63,000 plantation workers had died in Ceylon. It is notworthy that every year near about 6,000 Indians died

working as migrant labourers. Those who were landless and jobless in India were migrating to Ceylon in search of means of livelihood. The section below the poverty line was migrating to Ceylon expecting that they would be able to get the basic necessities of life. Group after group of migrants was crossing the jungle paths, subsisting on what they could find to eat in the jungle. The masters of coffee plantations exploited the migrant workers and used them for converting the jungles into estates. Death was rampant amongst the migrants because of overwork and under-nourishment. Even nature seemd to be against them and many perished during transit of snakes bites and being devoured by wild animals.

The population of South Indian Tamil community had increased to over 3,00,000 in 1890. This despite the fact that death was always following the plantation workers when they went to the hills by walking over 170 miles to the southern part of Ceylon.

The coffee era ended in 1875 in Ceylon and was followed by the tea era. Indian workers of Tamil origin in tea plantations of Ceylon were increasing because of the demand for labour there. The plantation labour was more than 6,00,000 around 1944. The majority of the plantation labour had settled in Ceylon permanentiy. At the time of independence, the Indian Tamil population in Ceylon had crossed over 8 lakh. During that period there was no agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Ceylon for the enrollment of migrant labour. Since 1928 both the governments had started to enroll the migrant workers. Near about 1930, the leaders of Sinhalese community had started to prohibit the migration of Indian workers. The Indian government was also emphasising that the Ceylonese government give equal rights to Indians of Tamil origin who had settled there. The Indian government had further allowed immigration of Indian workers to Ceylon on the basis of some conditions. The Government of Ceylon had assured the Indian government that the migrant workers

will enjoy the same rights as the rest of the population in Ceylon. But the Government of Ceylon and later the Government of Sri Lanka failed to keep the promise till today. Under the old constitution of Ceylon before independence, Indians with six months residence in the respective electoral block were entitled to cast their vote in the election and were also entitled to elect two members of the community to the legislative council.

After some years the discrimination against Tamil community in Ceylon had increased after the appointment of Donoughmore Commission in 1928. Sinhalese leaders were opposing the equal status of Tamils in Ceylon. Indian Tamils had no other option except to struggle against the move of Sinhalese leaders who were arguing that the Tamil community was migratory and had no respect and love for Ceylon because they were maintaining their social relationship with India. The Donoughmore Commission had examined the prospect of equal rights for Tamils of Ceylon and had suggested that a person who was residing for the last five years permanently in Ceylon would be eligible to vote. The Sinhalese community continued to press the government for limiting the rights of Tamils and therefore, the governor had modified the scheme of qualification further. According to the new law, the production of domicile certificate of a person was the main qualification to vote. Domicile meant proof of permanent settlement to be eligible to vote. The process to seek the certificate of permanent settlement was very long and hard. Therefore, the Indian government had objected to the move of Ceylonese government for putting this condition regarding the right to vote. The Indian Legislative Assembly had adopted a resolution in 1930 that the five-year residence should be the basis of the right to vote as originally suggested by the Donoughmore Commission. But the Indian resolution had no effect on the Government of Ceylon. The British Government of Ceylon was confronted with the rejection of recommendation of the commission by the Sinhalese leaders.

The British rulers had opted for discrimination against Indian Tamils in order to get the support of the Sinhalese who were in majority. The plantation people had failed to get the certificate of permanent settlement due to hard procedure and lack of motivation. But despite the difficulties, over two lakh persons of Indian origin had succeeded to enroll their names in the voters list by 1931. The discrimination had reached its peak in 1940 when the Government of Ceylon dismissed all daily paid Indian workers — 8,752 at that time — who were employed in various government departments. New recruitment of Indians was also banned. Besides, the State Council of Ceylon had passed various discriminating legislations regarding land settlement, fisheries, etc. The Indian government had reacted to this discriminatory policy adopted by the Ceylonese government by imposing a ban on immigration of unskilled labour from India to Ceylon in 1939-40. The ban imposed by India had given a setback to the plantation crop due to the shortage of workers and, therefore, the governor of Ceylon sent a delegation including DS Senanayaka and SWRD Bandaranaika to India with the request to revoke the ban.

The first independent parliament in Sri Lanka had denied all rights to Tamil community in the new constitution. The first government of Sri Lanka did not allow the citizenship right for Indian Tamils. After 1956, during the regime of SWRD Bandaranaika, the Tamil community was unrepresented in the parliament of Sri Lanka. Near about 9 lakh Tamils were stateless in the year 1964. Indira Gandhi had shown her solidarity with the stateless people by granting them Indian citizenship. After the agreement between Lal Bahadur Shastri and Srimao Bandaranaika in 1964, India had accepted the citizenship right of 6,00,000 out of about 10,00,000 stateless people. As per the agreement between Indira Gandhi and Srimao Bandrarnaika in 1974, the remaining 4,00,000 stateless Tamils were to be granted the right of citizenship by Sri Lanka. During the tenure of

Rajiv Gandhi, Sri Lanka had agreed to accept the citizenship of over 9,00,000 Tamils who had earlier applied for Indian citizenship. Finally, in 1988, Sri Lanka agreed to give equal rights to Tamils in its law and granted them citizenship by its Act 39 of 1988 on the persuasion of RG.

Earlier Tamil leaders SJV Chelvanaykam and others were assaulted and physically manhandled by the Sinhalese in 1956. The first riots occurred in 1958 and after that Tamils of Indian origin faced the worst period of repression and exploitation from 1970 to 1977 during the regime of Srimao Bandaranaika of Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). The Sri Lankan government had adopted a policy of discriminating against Tamils even in the admission to universities and Tamils were not allowed to enter into Southern Sri Lanka which is the stronghold of Sinhalese community. Tamils and Sinahlese both had revolted against the government of SLFP. The toll of Sinhalese youth killed was 16,000 during the Jantha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) insurgency of 1971. JVP was a terrorist organisation of Sinhalese youth while Libration Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) were the militant groups of Tamils. The history of Sri Lankan militancy testifies that Sinhalese youth were attacking Tamils and the latter were being killed one after another. The first sign of Tamil militancy appeared in the middle of 1973 when 37 youth were arrested to be prosecuted on charges of an attempt to murder parliamentarians.

Sri Lankan Tamils united for the first time on 13 June, 1972 when three major organisations of Tamils, the Federal Party, All Ceylon Tamil Congress and Ceylon Workers Congress, merged into a new political party called Tamil United Front (TUF). TUF was formed to launch a non-violent agitation against the Sri Lankan government for pressing the demand of equal for Tamils. For the first time a separate Tamil state was advocated by TUF leader SJV Chelvanaykam after winning the by-election from Kankesanturai in February

1975. The demand of separate independent state was followed by Vaddukkoddai resolution. TUF was replaced by forming Tamil United Libration Front (TULF). Chelvanaykam, the leader of TULF, died on 26 April, 1977 a few months before the election. The seven-year rule of Bandaranaika ended in the same year when her party SLFP secured only 8 seats while the United National Party took 141 seats. TULF contested this election with the commitment of a Tamil state under the leadership of Amrithalingam and bagged 18 seats in the National Assembly. The post of leader of opposition was given to Amrithalingam, TULF being the second largest party in the assembly. TULF leader Amrithalingam backed out from his commitment of separate 'Tamil Eelam' for which the mandate was given to TULF. As a result, Tamils lost their faith in TULF as well as Sri Lankan government. TULF faced anger from both Tamils and Jayawardane government as the then government of Sri Lanka moved a no-confidence motion against the leader of opposition, which was accepted by the National Assembly. With the disillusionment of Tamils with both TULF and Jaywardane's government, militancy started breeding among the Tamil youth.

On 19 May, 1978, the National Assembly passed a resolution denouncing LTTE and other terrorist outfits because terrorism was spreading there sharply. There were bank robberies and police personnel were being killed. Uma Maheshwaran, the leader of People's Libration Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), was wanted in the case of killing a police party. On 11 July, 1979, President Jayawardane appointed Brigadier Weeratunga as the Chief Commander of Jaffna declaring a state of emergency. He gave the power to police and army to dispose of the bodies of those killed without any inquest proceedings. This amounted to a legal sanction to the armed forces for any killing without being answerable to anybody. It was the most inhuman decision of the government. Then again major riots occurred and innocent Tamils were killed on a large scale in the middle of

1983. Sri Lanka was condemned worldwide and Tamils got international sympathy. This was the time when LTTE started receiving huge amounts from Tamil community. India had sympathy with the Tamils. RAW also supported LTTE after that. This was the time when Parbhakaran was living in India and receiving the help of our country..

TAMIL CAUSE AND LTTE

Though violence and militancy started in Sri Lanka around 1980, the proxy war had been going on for the last several decades. A sizeable number of Tamils had fled to Tamil Nadu for refuge, and concern was growing in New Delhi. The state and central governments were jointly considering proposals for handling the crisis. There was no difference of opinion between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and MG Ramachandran, chief minister of Tamil Nadu, on the line of approach to the Tamil problem. The Government of India formulated a policy with the following principal elements:

(i) Maintenance of Sri Lankan Tamils' unity and integrity.
(ii) Support for equal rights for Tamils as Sri Lankan citizens.
(iii) Use of friendly persuasion with the Jayawardane Government to bring peace in Sri Lanka.
(iv) Friendly negotiation with Sri Lankan Tamil groups for permanent settlement.

Several contingency plans, except military intervention, were considered for meeting any emergency,

The political scenario in Sri Lanka was one of pressure tactics from two groups in two corners. Tamil self-determination for a separate state and the challenge posed by JVP had become a major crisis there. The two organisations that had emerged were taking opposite stands — JVP on behalf of Sinhalese and LTTE on behalf

of Tamils. Earlier the challenge from the south was more serious than that from Tamil militants. JVP had alienated large section of the population through its brutality and callous disregard for human suffering. LTTE was not far behind JVP as it was a more potent force deeply rooted in Tamil aspirations. Both groups were involved in inhumanitarian activities and large-scale terrorism.

Indian government had tried narrowing the difference between Sri Lankan government and Tamil groups. Several proposed agreements were considered by both the parties, but they could not reach the logical end of the problem. The gulf between the Jayawardane government and Tamils widened because Tamil groups did not believe the Sinhalese community as well as their government. After the differences between the two had become wider, Sri Lanka began to have apprehensions about an impending Indian military intervention in support of Eelam, but India had no plan to attack the sovereignity and integrity of its neighbouring country.

The major dispute between the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamils was the proposed merger of northern and eastern provinces. Sri Lanka had fears that the merger of both provinces would lead to a separate Tamil state because Trincomalee was the natural capital of Eelam.

The Tamil groups, including LTTE, and Sri Lankan representatives sat on the negotiation table and held two rounds of discussion at Thimpu in July and August 1985 but they failed to resolve their problem. After becoming the prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi had taken the initiative in search of a permanent settlement and peace in India's neighbouring country. He started to hold discussions with Sri Lankan government as well as all the Tamil groups, including LTTE. After a long discussion and considering all the relevant facts related to the old problem of Sri Lanka with all the concerned parties, Rajiv Gandhi signed the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement on 29 July, 1987. This was the final effort by Rajiv Gandhi

during his regime. He knew that the implementation of Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement would benefit the Tamil community. Therefore, he had the apprehension that the agreement would be opposed by the Sinhalese community because they were politically powerful, being the largest section of Sri Lankan population. Rajiv had never thought that he would be opposed by the Tamil groups for whom he was taking pain and interest because the Government of India had been assisting the Tamil community since long. The Indian Peace Keeping Force was sent to Sri Lanka in order to implement the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement. In 1988, the elections of North-Eastern Provincial Council were held in Sri Lanka and LTTE had lost its credibility to defend the rights of Tamil population. LTTE had to hide itself in the jungle of Wanni. As many as 1,248 Indian army soldiers were killed and 2,900 were wounded before IPKF could restore law and order. LTTE was marginalised and its force and resources were drastically reduced.

A crucial stage came when Sri Lankan government and LTTE both had united and were fighting against IPKF. It was unfortunate for Tamils and Sri Lankan government that the two sides had buried their differences and come jointly for a common purpose to ensure the speedy withdrawal of IPKF. After IPKF withdrew, LTTE had become the ruler of north and east both politically and militarily. Premadasa, the president of Sri Lanka, was behind LTTE. The police and the army were ordered to go back their barracks by Premadasa. No cabinet minister from Colombo could travel to the north without the permission of LTTE.

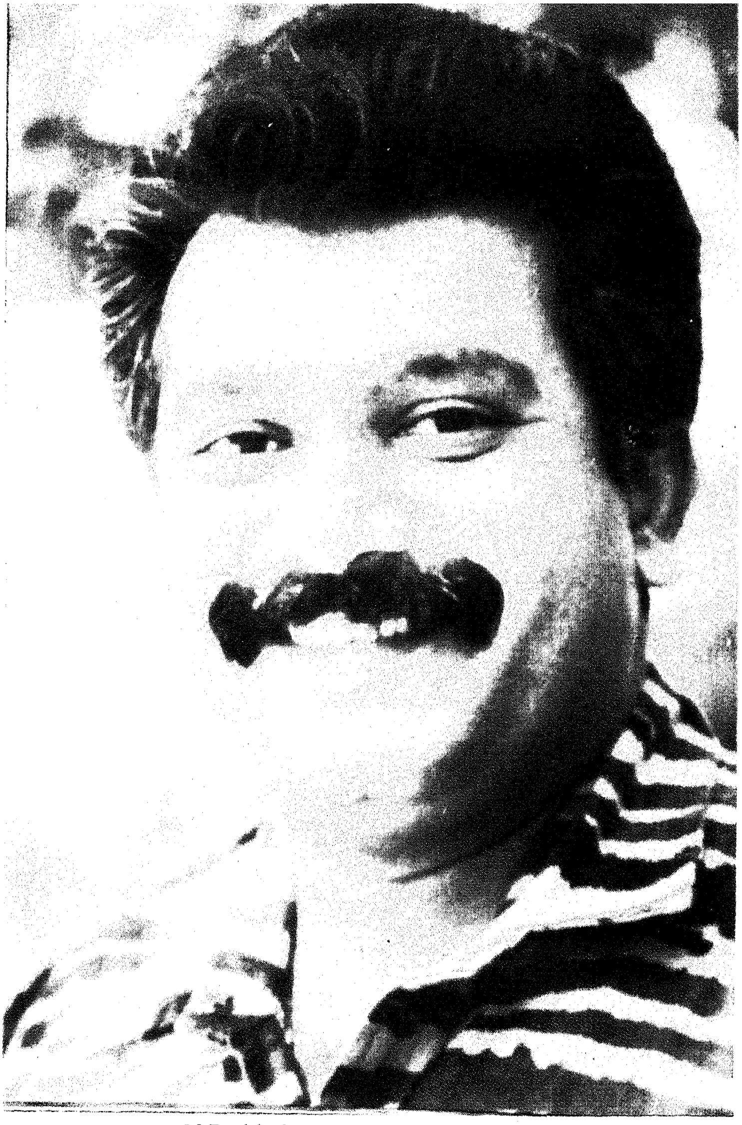
With the withdrawal of IPKF in the first quarter of 1990, LTTE attacked all the police stations and army camps in Batticaloa district, ending the year-long negotiations with the government. Despite the cease-fire, the fighting soon spread throughout the north and east and, by the end of June, the war between the government and LTTE was in full swing. With the war, the structure for Tamil self-government that

had been set up so painstakingly through Indian diplomatic efforts was swept away, leaving the Tamils in a far worse position than they had been. The unity of north and east, which was the major achievement of the accord, was destroyed as Sri Lankan army established itself in the towns of the eastern provinces. The North East Provincial Council, which embodied the administrative unity of the north and the east, became defunct and was eventually dissolved, bringing the region under Colombo's authority once again. When talks between LTTE and Sri Lankan government had begun a year back, people had hoped that it would result in peace. Public expectation for peace was high when Sri Lankan government and LTTE buried their differences to compel India to withdraw IPKF, but LTTE again disappointed the peace-loving people of Sri Lanka.

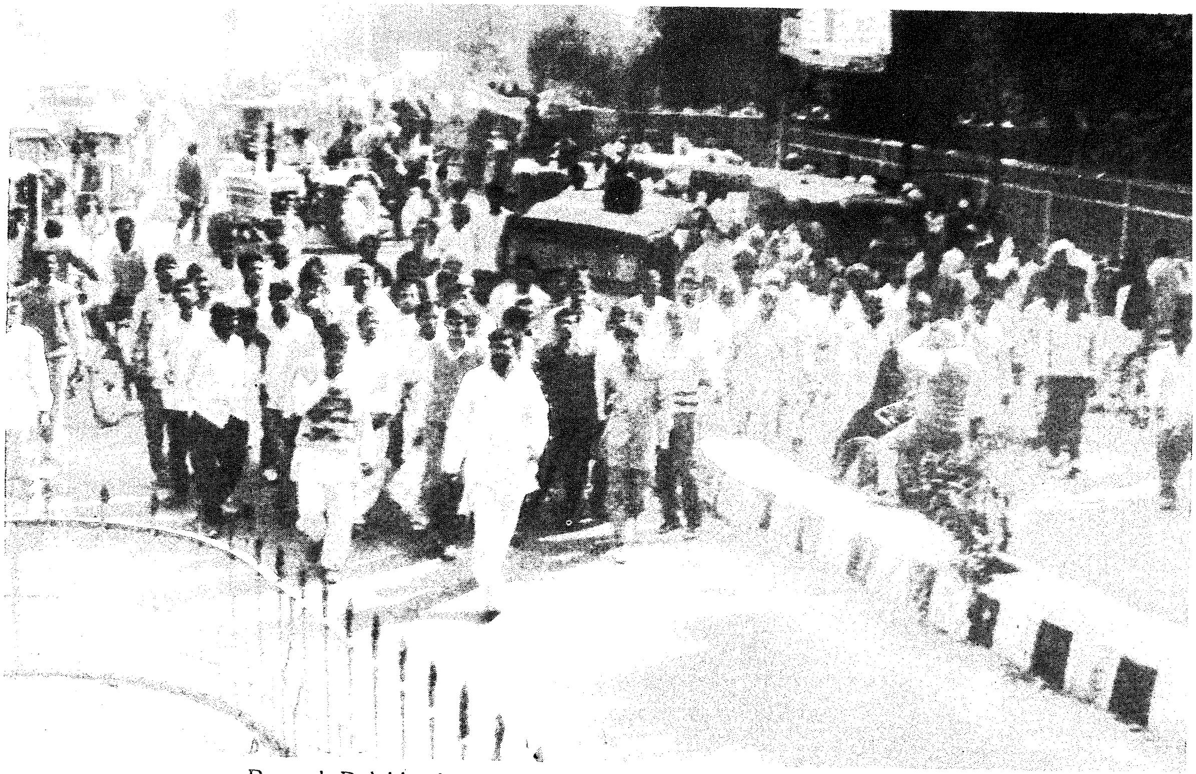
An end to the fighting is going to depend on whether a decisive military victory for either LTTE or Sri Lankan army is possible. The being so, it is worth examining the military balance of both sides. The most striking feature of the continuing conflict is that it is a confrontation of low intensity being fought by two extremely small forces.

The Sri Lankan army was about 50,000 strong before the deployment of IPKF and was largely a ceremonial force. After 1990, its number crossed over one lakh soldiers, both volunteer and reserve. Though there are no official figures of the soldiers deployed by Sri Lankan army in the north and the east, about 40,000 are believed to be involved in the conflict that is going on. Earlier Sri Lankan army's main weakness was the lack of manpower as well as of latest weaponry and defence equipment. India had deployed nearly 50,000 soldiers in IPKF during its peak operation in the north and east of Sri Lanka. Being small forces, both Sri Lankan army and LTTE adopted the hit-and-run tactics. The war was between two guerrilla groups sniping at each other whenever they saw an opportunity, but never decisively taking a military advantage.

Justice Jain arriving for probe



V Prabhakaran — the LTTE Supremo



Ramesh Dalal leading the *morcha* of farmers in Rohtak in 1995.

Ramesh Dalal, Presiding over the convention of all castes and religions on 16 October, 1998. Also seen in the picture are Sheila Dixit and Deepchand Bandhu

Ramesh Dalal presiding over the convention on 16 October, 1998 in Talkatora Stadium with Jagdish Tytler and HKL Bhagat

LTTE had an estimated strength of 7,000. It was well-trained militarily. LTTE had lost a lot of its trained and experienced 'tigers' since 1987. A number of 'tigers' were killed by IPKF and a sizeable number had disassociated themselves from the movement. The LTTE supremo had started recruiting teen-aged boys and girls as new trainees. LTTE trained and motivated its 'tigers' and 'tigresses' to a high degree. Its armed force, 'black tigers' and 'tigresses' and suicide squads, were better trained than the Sri Lankan army.

Now the scenario has changed. Sri Lankan army's rifles, coastal craft, artillery and mortars are of Chinese origin. The aircraft are Israeli; their helicopters are of US; their tanks and armoured personnel carriers are Russian and their armoured cars are of British origin. As such Sri Lankan army is now a strong army.

After the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, LTTE has become more powerful and effective than it was earlier. The strength of its manpower has increased to 14,000 and it has acquired the very latest weaponry, technology and communication systems. LTTE has computerised its administration and have become very powerful after the murder of RG in 1991 because it received a huge amount of money and several weaponry shipments. LTTE would have achieved its goal of a separate Tamil state if Sri Lankan army had not improved its strength and ammunition. Both Sri Lankan army and LTTE are mostly dependent on the flow of foreign aid. Victory by either side is not possible and finally both will have to search a political solution. Tamil guerrillas and Sri Lankan government have come to a cease-fire many times but they could not find the right formula for resolving their problems. One of the reasons of the continuing conflict in Sri Lanka is that, over the last 43 years, no efforts to meet Tamil demands through negotiations have ever succeeded. Tamils do not have faith in Sinhalese. Since the Bandarnaika-Chelvanaykam pact of 1957, a series of betrayals by the Sinhalese government is being heard from Tamils. The Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement

had put pressure on Sinhalese community for establishing Tamil autonomy up to a viable degree. Since the IPKF withdrew, the structure of Tamil autonomy has collapsed.

Although the Indo-Sri Lankan accord had ensured the provincial system, the merger of north and east and the concept of elected Tamil government to Sri Lankan Tamils, LTTE undermined the concept of Tamil self-government and played in the hands of those Sinhalese who had been unhappy with the accord which was signed by RG to help the Tamils in Sri Lanka. It was only because of the intervention of RG that Jayawardane had agreed to the merger of north and east despite the opposition by two other communities — Sinhalese and Muslims.

Combined demonstrations were held against the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement by SLFP, JVP and Buddhist clergy. As a result of traumatic war between JVP and the government, thousands were brutally murdered in the crusade spread over 20 years to crush JVP.

During decolonisation, Sri Lanka was generally referred to as the 'modal colony', known to the Arab traders as *serendib*, the island of happy fortune. Sri Lanka today is neither happy nor fortunate.

LTTE has not only made public its lack of respect for democratic and authentic rights, it has been equally unashamed of its ruthless disrespect for human and moral rights. Tamil terrorist organisation is settling the political difference of opinion with repression, bigotry and assassination. Tamil militants and JVP are settling the regional imbalance with large scale murder of villagers, women and children on either side. Sinhalese community is more horrendous in its disrespect for Tamil rights. Despite their common language, the Tamils are not a homogenous group. They are divided into Sri Lankan, Indian and Muslim Tamils. There are also differences among the eastern and northern Tamils about domination. Differences are likely to emerge

within the Tamil society in future and Tamil-Muslim armed clashes may also be a part of the coming scenario,

Sri Lanka presents a mixed economy. The economic scenario in Sri Lanka is on the model of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Pakistan. Inflation and increasing defence expenditure because of the long-drawn conflict have adversely affected the welfare programmes and physical quality of life. Shelter, health, education and a minimum assured income should be the joint common programme of both the sides to decrease the forces' budget, at least for 10 years for the survival of all communities of Sri Lanka because the consumer price inflation has gone very high which has adversely hit the poor and middle classes. Industrial production is not increasing to meet the requirement of the people.

The lack of intelligence reports which were to be exchanged between the Sri Lankan and Indian governments is also an important reason for failing to bring about the political solution of Sri Lankan terrorism. The roots to the problem are very deep. The Sinhalese feel that the Tamils are cunning, cruel, clever and proud. The Sinhalese also claim to be brave. The Tamils feel that they are cultured, intelligent and labourious whereas the Sinhalese are lazy and proud. In view of their contradictory claims, it emerges that both the communities have been traditionally critical of each other.

There are divisions of opinion among Tamils in Sri Lanka as well as in Tamil Nadu on the issue of imposing a ban on LTTE. The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) wants the Government of India to lift the ban on LTTE. Contrary to it, the other two major organisations of Sri Lankan Tamil community, PLOTE and TULF, are opposed to the idea of lifting the ban on LTTE in India. TELO spokesman K Srikantha claims that the Indian mediation is a "psychological barrier" for LTTE, and therefore, India must lift the ban on LTTE to play the role of a mediator between LTTE and Sri Lankan government. But the leader of PLOTE,

D Siddharthan, and V Anandasangaree, senior vice-president of TULF, said that they were against the demand of lifting the ban on LTTE. These two groups are ready even today to accept the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement of 1987 which was signed by RG. They want to pressurise the United National Party to withdraw its view for a unitary constitution for Sri Lanka. TULF and PLOTE desire that a federal system of the government should be adopted and think that Tamils would wean away from LTTE in that case. Tamil moderates also believe that LTTE's pitching for Eelam was an exercise in futility because Indian and international community are dead set against a separate Eelam. Similarly, the Tamil community as a whole is also divided on these lines. Tamils are being harassed and detained due to their pro-LTTE commitment. One section of Tamil community opines that the 'tigers' were fighting for freedom and the right of the Tamils to live with dignity. Another section thinks that LTTE forced their small children to be 'tigers' or 'tigresses' and therefore, either they come to India as refugees or remain impartial there.

One solution is that the United Nations intervenes in Sri Lanka by sending peace-keeping troops to the island as was done in the case of Bosnia, Sierra Leone and others, but the Sri Lankan government opposes the idea of UN intervention. The Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka Lakshman Kadirgamar has clarified it recently saying that Sri Lanka would not tolerate any intervention without its consent. This controversy comes in the light of a resolution passed by the European Parliament in Brussels recently. The resolution was to be forwarded to the UN Security Council, the Secretary General of UN and Commonwealth, and called on the European member states in the UN Security Council to bring the controversy before the United Nations General Assembly as a matter of urgency. The 36th Resolution of the UN General Assembly clearly lays down that a state shall refrain from the exploitation and distortion of human rights issues as a means of interference in the internal affairs of other

states. On the other hand, Article 52 of the Charter says that the Security Council shall encourage the development of peaceful settlement of disputes through regional arrangements, either on the initiative of the state concerned or by reference to the Security Council. This provides a loophole to the powerful nations to involve themselves in the internal conflicts of other states.

I feel India must intervene militarily if the Sri Lankan government refuses to implement the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement again or to adopt the federal form of the government giving equal rights to Tamils. Arrangements like those provided by Article 370 of Constitution of India can also be worked out.

LTTE has converted itself fully into a modern army form a terrorist outfit. I appreciate the 'super cop', KPS Gill for giving the beleaguered government and people a 'psychological boost' but he could have not succeeded to stamp out terrorism in Sri Lanka as he had succeeded in Punjab. Gill had recently gone to Sri Lanka on a personal visit to share his experience in battling terrorism. He had made remarkable efforts to bring peace in Punjab but LTTE has now grown up, spreading its branches like intelligence wing, artillery, suicide bomb squads, infantry, sea tigers and several other wings, which definitely tells us that LTTE is like a small modern army. The LTTE supremo Parbhakaran is protecting himself in bunkers like Saddam Hussain. Hussain was a super hero of the world who fought against the imperialist powers while Parbhakaran is a person who had killed the leaders of his own community and also killed the ex-Indian prime minister who was sympathetic to his Tamil community. A person who kills innocents without any rhyme or reason can never succeed in his movement and cannot be called a 'hero' — he is definitely a 'villain'. The new generation of Tamils would not remember him like Indians remember Netaji Subash Chandra Bose who fought against the British military. One section of his community and the

whole community of Indians would always hate him for killing RG. The LTTE supremo would never achieve his goal of a separate Tamil Eelam so long as he continues to ruthlessly kill innocent political opponents.

PARBHAKARAN

Five feet four inches tall, Velupillai Parbhakaran was born on 26 November, 1954. His father Tiruvenkatam Velupillai was a revenue officer. In 1980s, Parbhakaran had stayed at Indira Nagar, Madras. P Nedumaran, former Congress MLA, had opposed his deportation and kept him at his Madurai house for seven months. His mother Parvathi lives in Tamil Nadu and the MDMK stalwart Voiko is a frequent visitor to enquire about her health. Recently in May, 2000, MDMK organised a big rally in Tamil Nadu in support of a separate Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka.

Parbhakaran committed his first murder on 27 May, 1975 when he shot dead Durayappah who was the mayor of Jaffna. After that he started the organisation of LTTE since 5 May, 1976.

Parbhakaran feels that he is the lone custodian of Tamil Eelam and will never compromise for anything less than the creation of separate Tamil state. He is totally dictatorial and has no faith in democracy. This was the main reason why he killed all the other leaders of his community who were democratic and liberal.

LTTE is the first organisation in the history of terrorism which is being operated like an army. Although the LTTE supermo's height is very small, the height of his terrorist activities is much higher than that of any other leader of a terrorist outfit. He gives his close photographs to the press in which he looks tall and physically strong. That is his modus operandi.

As far as his personal character is concerned, he is a very intelligent person. He does not mix with anybody. He had

become the undisputed leader of not only LTTE but the whole community of Sri Lankan Tamils. At the time of his birth, none could have thought that he would create his own history on the land of two nations. No blame can be put on him, and he does not allow his black 'tigers' to smoke, drink or indulge in sex. He gives posthumous awards to LTTE cadres who do some special task for the operation of the organisation. His wife Mativadani assists him in his operation. She was a student of Jaffna University and once she had opposed Parbhakaran for his strike call two years before the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement. Parbhakaran had liked her, and so he had lifted her from the campus and married her in his hideout. He has two children, a daughter and a son. He is like an army chief of a nation because his organisation has all the wings for smooth operation. We can say that he has formed his own shadow government by creating various portfolios like finance, education, cultural affairs, weapon procurement department, intelligence wing, police, communication, surveillance, political wing, justice and home affairs. In his military there are further decentralisations like tigers, sea tigers, black tigers and tigresses. Just before the assassination of RG, LTTE received a shipment of modern arms and ammunition. After the murder of RG, LTTE received latest army equipments like SAM (Surface to Air Missile). LTTE has its offices in several countries. The organisation has two international secretariates — one in London and the other in Paris. LTTE also collects money in the form of revenue from its based areas in Sri Lanka. Tamils residing abroad also send money to LTTE. It has its shipping company managed by Kumaran Padmanabhan. It appears that LTTE also has its sea transport department. LTTE trains its cadres. After the training is over, the tigers and tigresses are given new identification. The emphasis is on brainwashing the trainees. The most important instruction of Parbhakaran for his cadres is that they cannot discuss their job, their plan and execution of the plan with anyone. Black tigers and

tigresses are supposed to do special tasks. They kill themselves as well as the target. They get this special training in which they learn that their lives are forfeited to Tamil Eelam, therefore, they should be prepared to die when the occasion demands. The black tigers, or suicide squads, enjoy special privileges because they perform only one duty which results to their death.

LTTE is the only terrorist outfit in the world which has a fleet of ships, anti-aircraft guns, SAM and submarine. LTTE produces it own arms as several factories were found to be pirated for producing and manufacturing arms and ammunition. IPKF had raided a factory manufacturing microlight aircraft. One LTTE man Shankar was identified who was the mastermind behind a plan to attack the Sri Lankan National Assembly. This microlight aircraft carries a light weight. In its operation, five or ten kg RDX is taken by a thin pilot to wherever a raid has to be made. The intelligence agencies of India and Sri Lanka had exchanged their assessment with each other after the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement regarding the threat of an attack by microlight aircraft. Therefore, the Sri Lankan National Assembly was declared a non-fly zone during the session.

The journalist Anita Partap took an interview of V Parbhakaran in the early 1980s. She had met the LTTE supremo for the first time in the morning at a 'tiger' safe house in Chennai.

She had watched several video documentaries in the well-furnished room where she was waiting for him. They were well-shot video tapes and the play of light and angle of the camera had made Velupillai Parbhakaran seem larger than life. On the screen, he looked strong, tough and brave. The film was on the features of the disciplined army of Tamil Eelam. She had seen Parbhakaran inspecting the guard of honour. He strode past the neat rows of uniformed 'tiger' soldiers to unfurl the red flag of LTTE. He made no speech, but there was action in the background and loud patriotic music.

Anita had not recognised Parbhakaran when he walked into the room. He had looked handsome and six-feet tall in video, but the man who walked in was short, stocky and looked like a petty Tamil businessman. She had assumed that he must have been a 'tiger' supporter and just gave him a cursory nod. After several moments, he softly spoke to her in Tamil, '*naan thaan Parbhakaran*' — the translated words were, "I am only Parbhakaran". Then she realised her mistake to identify him. She observed that Parbhakaran was the most determined and ruthless man she had ever met. And his foresight was amazing. He saw at that time what his opponents did years later.

In his interview, he told her that he would have to fight India. This was years before IPKF operations and before Rajiv Gandhi became the prime minister. He had disclosed his mind to her when he was getting the assistance from RAW for training the army and funding LTTE. She was surprised to know that he could bite the hand that was feeding him. She had asked why he would fight against India one day when he was taking the help from India. He had replied, "Even more than Sri Lanka, India will not allow us to create Tamil Eelam because of its own 55 million Tamils". On the question of Indian help to him, he replied, "Right now I am small, I need India's help to grow."

She had a deep impression that he had unwavering commitment to the cause of Eelam — deep-rooted and non-negotiable. She interviewed him many times over the years and there have been many changes in the man. He has become older and heavier, but according to her, there has been no change, no softening, no dilution in the commitment to the cause he espoused. Once President Kumaratunga had said to her that even the best guerrillas must have tired of his fighting and war. But after five years, his energy and commitment to the cause of Eelam showed no signs of flagging. From a hit-and-run guerrilla fighter he had evolved into a mastermind of conventional battle.

When we consider the above story, we find that Parbhakaran is a person who will avail of any opportunity from any quarter. Therefore, we can say that he availed the opportunity given by India and he got RG assassinated at the instigation of a foreign power because he wanted the shipments of weapons and finance that LTTE was receiving from the foreign agencies for establishing its hegemony in Sri Lanka. It was because of the reward of Rajiv's assassination that LTTE has grown from a small guerrilla militant force into a formidable army — which could not have happened without the assistance of an outside power. It was not possible for LTTE to rejuvenate itself after IPKF operation when LTTE cadres had to hide themselves in the Wanni jungle. The strong possibility clearly emerges that LTTE could have not transformed itself into a formidable power without monetary and military help from a foreign power. The creation of a separate Tamil Eelam state in Sri Lanka, as RG very rightly had surmised, has much wider implications for India. If there is such a state of Tamils in neighbouring Sri Lanka, it would be a 'red rag to the bull' for the Tamils in India who then want a separate Tamil state on the southern front of the country which till today is a region not prone to terrorism as the northern belt where across-the-border terrorism instigated by ISI of Pakistan backed by CIA is rampant.

Chapter 4

Covering Up the Wider Conspiracy

The day was 21 May, 1991. My family members were celebrating my birthday. In the morning I had received several calls from various well-wishers. But the important telephone call was of Chandra Swamy who wished me a long and happy life. I had invited Rajinder Jain in the evening for dinner. He was an astrologer, a writer and a businessman, and I had good relations with him. Chandra Swamy used to seek his predictions of astrology and take him along when he visited important persons. Rajinder Jain had joked saying that he would not take the milk and curd which was the food of the Jat community. He said that he would take some special whisky. I had replied that he was aware of my habit not to smoke or drink. He had insisted that he would take a drink and that he would bring it with him. I waited for him for several hours. My birthday party was over. It was about 10.35 p.m. that I received his call when I was getting ready to go to sleep. He excused himself saying that he was busy with a task of Chandra Swamy and therefore he could not come. He told me that he had sad news. I asked him whether his family was alright. He replied in the positive but said that Rajiv Gandhi had been assassinated by a human bomb at Sriperumbudur near Chennai. I did not believe him and thought that he was making the statement due to his *guru*

proximity with the Prime Minister Chander Shekhar and OP Chautala. I asked him whether he was serious. He again repeated the same and said that Chander Shekhar would continue to be the prime minister and the election would be postponed. I was shocked and was not able to talk to him any more. I tried to confirm the news from other sources. I gave a call to SS Mohapatra, who was another close associate of Chandra Swamy and a former general secretary of AICC. I was told that he had gone abroad. I could not get the confirmation of what Rajinder Jain had said on the telephone. My wife also felt shocked and she told me that it may be a lie or a joke. I could not sleep. I was remembering one thing after another and trying to conclude who had killed Rajiv Gandhi. I thought about two terrorist outfits. I knew that Rajiv Gandhi was facing danger to his life from Sikh terrorists and LTTE. As he was killed in Tamil Nadu, I temporarily rejected the view of Sikh militants being the assassins and started to think who else might be behind the assassination. It was likely that he might have been killed by LTTE because LTTE had a base in Tamil Nadu. I was thinking as to why he was killed and who would get what benefit by the killing. My wife tried to pacify me by saying that Rajinder Jain could have joked because it was my birthday, but I couldn't control myself and there were several questions in my mind.

Next morning I dialed Rajinder Jain's number and asked him from where he had got his information. He did not reveal his source and changed the topic, but he was still of the opinion that Chander Shekhar would continue as the prime minister. I couldn't get more from him because he was evasive. After that I started to think again why he was saying that Chander Shekhar would continue to be the prime minister. I recalled Chandra Swamy's connection with LTTE when he himself had told me that he had been busy with LTTE 'tigers' when I had called on him. I also remembered the words that he had said only a few days ago. I had gone to Chandra Swamy with a message of Jambuwant Rao Dhote who was

contesting the Lok Sabha election on Samajwadi Janata Party ticket. The party was headed by Chander Shekhar, Devilal and Subramanian Swamy. I had very good relations with Dhote who once used to be a Congress member of Parliament. I had visited his parliamentary constituency Yeotmal near Nagpur in Vidharba region of Maharashtra. Earlier I had sent the election material of Dhote through my own contact to his constituency. Dhote had asked me in Yeotmal that I was not very much needed there and he requested to me to go back to Delhi for contacting Chandra Swamy to ask him to send the money for the election campaign. I had returned and met Chandra Swamy. There were other persons there from Maharashtra. CS said that he had no need to send the money for the election campaign as the election would be postponed. I asked him what was the reason for his saying so, to which he did not reply. I told him that I had visited his *ashram* specially on the instance of Dhote and therefore he should tell me when he was sending the money to him. I continued to ask why the election would be postponed? He replied angrily "There might be several reasons. Even the big leader could be killed." I did not agree with his prediction. I returned because I had done my job to deliver the message of Dhote. After remembering this incident, I started suspecting him. I had many reasons to believe that he might be behind the gruesome killing of Rajiv Gandhi. The day after RG's assassination Dhote came to Delhi and stayed in the guest-house of Vijay Mallaya's company which was being used by Chandra Swamy for his special guests.

Dhote had called me and I went to the bungalow at C 4/55 Safdarjang Development Area near Chandra Swamy's *ashram* at C 4/41 Safdarjang Development Area, owned by the wrestler-turned-filmstar Dara Singh. I had stayed with them at the same address several times. I also visited the *ashram* of Chandra Swamy and came to know that he had tried to get the election postponed for the next six months.

I found Subramanian Swamy frequently coming and going. He had relations with Dhote and Chandra Swamy. Dhote was a close friend of Chandra Swamy and he did not listen to any word against the latter. I continued to suspect Chandra Swamy but I did not discuss anything with Dhote except his election prospects. He went back to Yeotmal and started his election campaign again as the president of India had deferred the second phase of elections and the poll was due to be held shortly.

Since Rajiv Gandhi was killed on my birthday I was shocked all the more. I was in search of the person who had masterminded the killing. With RG being the front-runner in the race, the only way to prevent him from occupying the chair of the prime minister was to eliminate him. The followers of Chandra Swamy were greeting one another and distributing sweets at his *ashram* when PV Narasimha Rao took over as the Congress president.

Earlier I had listened to Chandra Swamy saying that Congress had no leader and shortly might accept the leadership of Chander Shekhar. But after Narasimha Rao became the AICC president he had stopped speaking like this and even was not taking interest to finance the election campaign of Samajwadi Janata Party. After the split of Janata Dal Parliamentary Party, the Janata Dal (Secular) was formed headed by Chander Shekhar, and JD(S) had formed the government at the centre with the outside support of the Congress. Due to technical problems, JD(S) could not get a symbol from the Election Commission and it decided to fight the election on the symbol of Janata Party headed by Subramanian Swamy. The signatory was Subramanian Swamy who had signed blank tickets for the nomination of the Lok Sabha candidates and Chandra Swamy himself had distributed several tickets to his associates. By now Chandra Swamy had changed his stand and had started to support the Congress headed by Narasimha Rao. He had started lobbying to make Narasimha Rao the prime minister. I was

suspecting that he might be behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. I had one very important reason to suspect from where Rajinder Jain had got the news of Rajiv Gandhi's killing. Therefore I went to Rajinder Jain and said that I suspected Chandra Swamy behind the assassination plot. I asked him from where he had received the information of the murder the same night it had happened. He continued to change the topic and said that he was an associate of godman Chandra Swamy who could predict any incident that might happen in the future. I returned without having any answers to the queries which were floating in my mind. I had not come out from the shock. My wife Premlata tried to convince me that my exercise of inquiring so much regarding the murder was fruitless. She even said that I also might be killed if I tried to find out the real killers. After that I stopped telling her anything in this regard because I knew that she might be disturbed due to her fear for my life. After sometime Rajinder Jain met me again and this time he was interested to interact with me on the issue of my suspicion. He told me that he knew the conspiracy behind the assassination. He confirmed that my suspicion had the right base and direction. He was scared of Chandra Swamy and he told me that he himself could be killed because of his knowledge of Rajiv Gandhi's murder. He sought my assistance and advice as to what to do. I told him that he had only two choices — either to speak the truth or keep his mouth shut forever. I told him that CS would get him killed even if he remained silent. I asked him what support he wanted from me. He told that he would go ahead and write against Chandra Swamy on the issue of RG's assassination and Chandra Swamy would be arrested if he got him killed because his disclosure of the latter's involvement in the assassination would be evidence in this regard. He sought my help if he faced danger due to this. He was from the Vaishya community and I, being a Jat, had the guts to face danger. I assured him that he should not be scared of Chandra Swamy because death comes only

once. After that he told me that he was going to publish his first version of the assassination episode in his weekly newspaper *Janadhar* and he would demand the arrest of Chandra Swamy in RG's killing. I applauded him saying that he was going to be a Jat with a Jat. He had laughed but said that he could face danger. I again said everyone was facing danger in life. Getting murdered because of disclosing the identity of Rajiv's killers would be better than a simple and accidental death, and he would become a martyr.

Although the name of Chandra Swamy had appeared as a suspect in the conspiracy behind the assassination as early as June-July 1991, yet SIT of CBI did not probe this angle for the reason that CS was enjoying a high status not only in the government but also in the circle of all senior officers of law-enforcing agencies and civil departments. Whenever his name appeared in the involvement of Rajiv's killing, Chandra Swamy, alias Nemi Chand Jain, hatched the conspiracy to nab and shut up the person who had insinuated his involvement. Rajinder Jain was a close associate who used to execute the plans of Chandra Swamy. He was the only person who had personal knowledge of the real assassins. His conscience was compelling him to disclose the conspiracy and the name of conspirators who had killed Rajiv Gandhi by the human bomb Dhanu of LTTE. He had expressed his willingness to reveal the truth in the interest of national integrity, law and justice. He had promised me to disclose everything in parts and had published his view to indicate his suspicion of Chandra Swamy in his weekly newspaper *Janadhar*. In its edition of 12 July, 1991, a story appeared with the caption *Rajiv Gandhi hataya kaand: Chandra Swami ki giraphtari kueyo nahi?*[6] (Why was Chandra Swamy not arrested in Rajiv Gandhi's murder conspiracy?)

He had given a colour photograph of Chandra Swamy in his newspaper. He himself was the writer of this story and he had given an indication regarding the involvement of

Chandra Swamy in the killing of Rajiv Gandhi. He had not completely opened his mind in his first story. The story was a general one. According to him he had only given an indication in the first edition to the law-enforcing agencies about his suspicion of Chandra Swamy's involvement. He had thought to disclose the complete story of the killers of Rajiv Gandhi in a subsequent publication of the newspaper.

Before publishing the story he was very much scared of Chandra Swamy. Later I came to know that he had been right in his apprehension because a powerful bomb was planted in his Maruti van no. DL2C/1370.

On the night of 29 July, 1991 an unknown person had informed the control room of Delhi Police that Rajinder Jain was carrying a powerful explosive device in his Maruti van and he would go to kill Jagdish Tytler, the minister of state for surface transport, Government of India, with the help of Punjab terrorists. His Maruti van was parked in the parking place of Palika Kendra at Punchkuian Road, New Delhi, where Rajinder Jain had his office. He was arrested when he went to open the lock of his van for driving to his house at Ashok Nagar, North Delhi. The police party was waiting for the owner and watching the van. As soon as he reached the van the police caught him and asked him to check up the van as they had information that he was carrying an explosive device to kill a VIP. Rajinder Jain had replied that he was not a terrorist and had handed over the key of his van to the police officer, who opened the door of the van and searched it. The police had the right information as the explosive with detonator, wire and battery was found inside the van. The police arrested Rajinder Jain and his associates. All of them were brought to the police station at Mandir Marg, New Delhi for interrogation.

They all claimed to be innocent. They were the editor and reporters or other staff of the newspaper. The police also searched the residence and other premises of Rajinder Jain

but they did not get any clue because no other explosive device or any discriminating evidence was found during the search. His wife and his one other friend separately contacted me and sought my help because perhaps I was the only person who had the knowledge that Rajinder Jain knew each and every thing regarding the wider conspiracy behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

I went to the police station, where I found Rajinder Jain being interrogated by Inspector Tejpal Singh Nagar, I told them that Chandra Swamy, alias Nemi Chand Jain, had implicated him falsely with the motive to shut his mouth forever regarding the killing of Rajiv Gandhi. Rajinder Jain had also revealed to the police that he knew of the involvement and role of Chandra Swamy in the murder of Rajiv Gandhi. The police accepted my contention that Rajinder Jain could not be a terrorist. The police also had concluded in the investigation that Rajinder Jain could not be involved in terrorism and, therefore, he could not carry the explosive device with the motive to kill Jagdish Tytler. The police had found a sketch map of the route to the house of Jagdish Tytler.

On 30 July, 1991 Rajinder Jain had issued a statement claiming that the explosive device was planted in his car by Chandra Swamy or his men to implicate him in a false case under TADA because he had written against Chandra Swamy in his weekly newspaper *Janadhar*. This allegation of Rajinder Jain had appeared in all daily newspapers.[7] He also gave me a handwritten letter on 31 July, 1991 claiming that he suspected CS for planting the explosive device in his van.[8] The police released Rajinder Jain and his associates advising them to cooperate and appear further in the investigation of the case which was registered at Mandir Marg Police Station. Rajinder Jain had also claimed that he had received threats from Chandra Swamy after the publication of his article demanding the arrest of Chandra Swamy in the case of murder of Rajiv Gandhi. He had taped the telephonic

conversation secretly. According to the content of this audio tape, CS had said to Rajinder Jain that they would teach him a lesson even as they had killed Rajiv Gandhi. He had openly threatened to kill Rajinder Jain if he opened his mouth about his involvement in Rajiv's killing.

As this story had appeared in *Janadhar* on 12 July, 1991 with the caption demanding the arrest of Chandra Swamy in the wider conspiracy behind the assassination, Chandra Swamy had threatened him with dire consequences. Rajinder Jain published in *Janadhar* issue of 26 July, 1991 regarding the threats that he had received directly and indirectly from CS and said that he would publish more about it in the next issue. Chandra Swamy had thought of several ways to get rid of Rajinder Jain because he was scared that Rajinder Jain would send him to jail in the case of killing the former prime minister. CS was of the view that he should not order his criminal followers to kill Rajinder Jain. If he had him killed, his involvement in Rajiv's killing would have got the publicity in the press and electronic media and he would have been arrested as an accused in both the murders. This was the reason why Chandra Swamy had postponed his plan to eliminate him. He knew that the story published in the newspaper of Rajinder Jain would be taken as a sequence of events leading to the assassination of Rajinder Jain. He finally made up his mind to implicate him in a false case under TADA for keeping, carrying and using the explosive device in which he would have to remain in jail for a long time. He had thought that no one would believe the story of his involvement in the killing of Rajiv Gandhi if the informer himself was found to be a accused and a part of a Punjab terrorist group carrying the explosive device in his van with the intention to kill Jagdish Tytler. Chandra Swamy and his associates had considered seriously that Rajinder Jain should not be allowed to write further accusing them of being involved in the murder of the former prime minister.

Chandra Swamy and his close aides wanted to send him to jail for several years by accusing him of anti-national activities till the trial of Rajiv case was over in the designated court of Chennai so that the plot behind the assassination remained a mystery. Therefore the explosive device was planted in his van to cover up the conspiracy.

Chandra Swamy had spoken to me on telephone from abroad near about 31 July, 1991, and advised me not to assist Rajinder Jain. He further said that he was reaching New Delhi within a few days and then he would talk to me in detail. He claimed that OP Chautala was with him and he handed over the receiver to the latter who advised me not to intervene in the case of planting the bomb in the van of Rajinder Jain. His exact words were "*Doh banion ki ladai main ek Jat ko nahi padna chaheye*". MDMA should investigate the person who had spoken to me on the telephone. Either the person was OP Chautala or some disciple of Chandra Swamy posing to be OP Chautala to impress upon me that the senior leader of my native state Haryana was with him. I had deposed regarding the above call before JCI and my testimony had appeared in all daily newspapers. Chautala had made no statement to deny having made the call. Therefore I believe that the speaker on the phone from abroad was Chautala himself. My belief was further strengthened by my three or four meetings with Chautala after my deposition. I particularly refer to one meeting during the election campaign of 1998 when I had not been inducted into the Congress and had my independent political identity. Chautala had sought my support for Devi Lal for the Rohtak parliamentary seat where I had a great influence on the voters as I had contested the Lok Sabha election from there as an indpendent candidate in 1996 after my deposition before the JCI. There is a large number of votes of 'Dalal' Jats in this constituency. In the past, the 'Dalal' *gotra* of Jat community had been the ruling class. Dalals, Manns, Deshwals and Suhags were once brothers and sons of the Raja, and were the most powerful

in the Jat community spreading over all north India. OP Chautala had taken me to Beri from Chhara village of Dalals in Rohtak during the election process of 1998 and he had praised me in the village meeting of Chhara. Chautala had appreciated my deposition before JCI saying that I was the most brave and dynamic leader of the Jat community and had further added that I had deposed the truth. Even on that day he did not deny having made the phone call from abroad. If he had not spoken to me from abroad, he would have either denied the said call or enquired of me about the phone call story. On that day in the car Chautala and me were discussing politics and political scenario in the ongoing mid-term polls of 1998. Chautala had requested me to join his Indian National Lok Dal with the offer of the Lok Sabha ticket from Rohtak in the next election. I admit that we were not discussing only the Jain Commission but, in general, he had appreciated my deposition before JCI. I had told him that except in Rohtak I would be supporting the Congress because Sonia Gandhi had come in active politics and I wanted to support the Nehru-Gandhi family and that I had been assisting the commission in the proceedings. Chautala had joked regarding Sonia Gandhi and Quattrocchi but I had objected to it. Though Sonia Gandhi had declared to campaign for the Congress during that period, she had not taken over the presidentship of AICC. I told him of my desire to join the Congress because I was loyal to Nehru-Gandhi family, I also told him that I, being the president of National Transport Panchayat, would provide free buses for the first rally of Sonia Gandhi in Delhi.[9] The discussion was over with the decision that I would support the Congress in Delhi, Haryana and other states except Rohtak. Chautala had said that he would welcome me in his party in the next election if I was not inducted into the Congress fold. Chautala would have not asked me to join his party if he had not agreed with my deposition. The above circumstances made me believe that he had talked to me from abroad on that phone call. MDMA

should examine the passport of Chautala to confirm if he was abroad at that time and, if so, where. If Chautala and Chandra Swamy both were together, the suspicion of Chautala being a part of the plot converts into his involvement in the murder of RG. MDMA should find out the whereabouts of Chautala near about 31 July, 1991. I had enquired later from Chandra Swamy regarding that telephonic conversation with him and Chautala. He had confirmed it and said that Chautala and he both were one and if I disclosed the conspiracy he would teach me a lesson in Haryana where Chautala had a great influence. CS also revealed that Chautala was sent abroad by him. MDMA should probe where and with whom Chautala had stayed and who had borne his expenses for 10 months. Chautala's long stay abroad just after the assassination of RG does warrant probe to ascertain whether or not he had been in frequent touch with LTTE and Jagjit Singh Chauhan. CS had also claimed that Chautala was his missionary and ambassador abroad and was there to fulfil their committment with LTTE. These circumstances had not come before JCI, but now MDMA must probe as to what were the movements of Chautala in this long period of stay outside India. It might be possible that he was deputed abroad by CS to cover up the conspiracy. It was very difficult unusual for a politician who was a former chief minister to stay abroad for such a long period except on a special mission.

Prima facie there was evidence proving the hand of Chandra Swamy to implicate Rajinder Jain in a false case of explosive device. SHO Nagar advised us that we should meet DCP Kanwaljeet Deol and discuss everything with her. We met and told her everything. Rajinder Jain told the DCP that he suspected Chandra Swamy as he had threatened him directly and indirectly. He handed over the audio tape to DCP Kanwaljeet Deol. He also handed over copies of the first and second issues of his newspaper *Janadhar* dated 12 and 26 July 1991. He showed her a news item which had

appeared in the second issue of newspaper on 26th July, 1991 regarding the threats to his life. After seeing the news item, Deol was convinced that Rajinder Jain could not be involved for carrying the explosive device. She said that the investigation was in full swing and the culprits would not be set free. When we raised the issue of the murder of RG and told her that Rajinder Jain had the knowledge of the involvement of Chandra Swamy in Rajiv's killing and that Chandra Swamy wanted to implicate him by planting the explosive device, she said that first of all let them complete the probe of the explosive case — from where it had come and what was the motive behind it.

The law-enforcing agencies closed the investigation of the planting of explosive device observing that the unknown accused were untraceable. The audio tape was the basic evidence to support the version of Rajinder Jain strengthening both the theories — Chandra Swamy's involvement in planting the explosive device as well as conspiring to kill Rajiv Gandhi.

It was unfortunate that innocent people were being arrested daily under TADA while the guru of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao was very far from the grip of law. If his name would have appeared as a suspect accused, the police would have arrested Rajinder Jain and his colleagues in this case. They all would have been put in jail on the pretext that they were supplying explosives to terrorist outfits and helping them in achieving their targets to kill VIPs. The higher police officers would have applauded their police team who probed the case and the commissioner of police would have given a special promotion to all the officers who had caught Rajinder Jain and his colleagues red-handed. This has been always repeated in the history of police department. The police did not even interrogate Chandra Swamy whose name had appeared in the list of suspected persons because he was governing the country through his disciple Narasimha Rao.

The *modus operandi* of police was that they harassed even the family members of the accused if he was an ordinary citizen but did not dare intervene if the suspected person held a high position. The police closed the file noting that no clue was found from where and whom the explosive device had been brought and what was the motive behind it. If the police had handled the case like it should have, it would have become an important lead to unearth the conspiracy behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

Later when Babloo Srivastva was arrested by Interpol and brought to India in 1995, he was put in a UP jail. *Jansatta* reporter Rajesh Joshi, who had an inquisitive mind, had gone to him to take his interview. In the interview given to Rajesh Joshi, Babloo revealed that he was used several times by Chandra Swamy and that CS was a criminal who had asked him to plant an explosive device in the van of Rajinder Jain to teach a lesson to him. They had made a plan to implicate Jain in some TADA case because in those days the accused in TADA cases were being sent to jail for several years. Chandra Swamy had hatched the conspiracy to implicate him in an explosive case under TADA so that Rajinder Jain would not be believed by anyone if he spoke against him on Rajiv's killing. They had also thought that Rajinder Jain would surrender before them in order to get his name deleted from the case.

I want to ask Subramanian Swamy, if Chandra Swamy was not involved in Rajiv's killing, why did he order Babloo to plant the explosive device in the van of Rajinder Jain and implicate him in a case under TADA? I further want to ask him if Chandra Swamy was not the chief conspirator behind the assassination, why did he take Rajinder Jain's story of his involvement in the murder of RG seriously?

If Chandra Swamy was not involved in the conspiracy behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, he would not have pressed me to stop supporting Rajinder Jain. He would not

have threatened to kill me if I opened my mouth against him for his involvement in Rajiv's killing. Why was he scared of the explosive device case if he was not a part of the conspiracy behind the assassination?

Chandra Swamy knew that there were only two main persons — I and Rajinder Jain — who could depose before the Jain Commission as well as speak to other agencies and press media regarding his involvement in Rajiv's killing. Therefore he continued to pressurise us this way and that way.

The audio tape was evidence of threats to the life of Rajinder Jain which could have been helpful to SIT in investigating the involvement of Chandra Swamy in the assassination of RG, but DCP Kanwaljeet Deol did not send it to SIT. Instead of keeping the audio tape in the record room of the police as it was a case property, the same was destroyed forever. Now the tape is not traceable.[27] If the audio tape had been kept in the record, MDMA would have got an important clue to unearth the hidden conspiracy.

Even after my press conference, the police did not ask for my source of information regarding the assassination of RG and planting of the explosive device which was found in the van of Rajinder Jain.

I was threatened and Rajinder Jain was pressed to shut his mouth by the police saying that otherwise he would be arrested in the case. If the police was not under pressure from the PM house, why did not the police pass on this information to SIT? I was even threatened by the police that they would implicate me in any false case if I spoke further against Chandra Swamy. The persons who criticise my deposition before JCI in 1995 on the ground as to why I did not contact SIT or CBI in 1991 itself regarding my knowledge of the wider conspiracy behind the assassination do not get support from the sequence of events because I had addressed a letter to CS followed by a press conference demanding the arrest of Chandra Swamy in the national

interest. Why did not the police question me after that? Why did Chandra Swamy continue to threaten me if he was not involved in the assassination of RG? Just after the explosive device case, CS returned to India and he called me at his *ashram*. First he enticed me by several means. I did not agree to it and said that I would continue to speak against him because he was the real assassin. Then CS was a changed man. He confessed that he was the mastermind behind the assassination. He threatened that he would also got me killed if I continued to speak against him on the issue.

I was under pressure because he had threatened to eliminate my entire family through militants. He had claimed that he was the guru of JS Chauhan and he had given the assignment to kill RG at different places to both the LTTE and Sikh militants. I had long discussion with him. After returning from his *ashram*, I started to think as to what I should do. I was not a person to surrender or bend before the killer of RG. I knew that the continuation of my fight against CS would be patriotic. I also rejected the offer made by CS that he would not only give me a huge amount of money but a Rajya Sabha seat also. I decided that I would not sell myself on the issue of Rajiv's assassination for whom I had a great respect.

First of all I decided to write a letter by registered post to him so that it would be an evidence if he got me killed. My other purpose to write this letter was to convince him that he should maintain the high values of a religious 'saint' by confessing his criminal offences and leaving the path of violence. I posted the letter to him on 10 August, 1991.

Instead of adopting the holy path, the godman continued to threaten me. Therefore I called a press conference in September 1991 at Embassy restaurant in Connaught Place. I revealed that CS was a criminal and I demanded his arrest in Rajiv's assassination as well as in the explosive case. I had spoken in length but the brief news had appeared in *Hindustan*, *Jansatta* and *Janadhar.*[10]

Despite risking my life, I had served a legal notice to the home secretary, Government of India on 22 February, 1992. I had mentioned the offences committed by Chandra Swamy in that notice demanding that the Government of India should prosecute him in several cases including his alleged involvement in the assassination of RG.[11]

I had also said that Chandra Swamy was an agent of a foreign power and that he was leaking the secrets of our country. I revealed that he might be supplying explosives to the militant groups. I had also mentioned that Chandra Swamy had offered 40 crore rupees to the president of India for dismissing RG as the prime minister and that he was buying and selling the loyalty of MPs for making and removing prime ministers. I received the acknowledgement of the notice and no blame can be shifted to me that I did not bring his offences to the notice of the government. I am a patriot and, despite threat to my life, I wrote to the home secretary to prosecute Chandra Swamy. After that it was the duty of the home secretary to pass on this notice to SIT/CBI. Had SIT investigated the information, the whole gamut of the conspiracy would have been exposed six years earlier than the submission of final report by JCI.

Now the several questions that arise are:

1. What action was taken by the home secretary, Government of India, after receiving the notice from me?
2. Did the ministry of home affairs forward this letter to SIT/CBI?
3. Why did CBI not question me to find out what information I had regarding the criminal complicity and involvement of Chandra Swamy in the assassination of RG?
4. If CBI did not receive the notice from MHA, who had buried this letter and what was his motive behind it?

When I did not receive any response to my letter from the government, I had come to know that Chandra Swamy was

enjoying a very high position during the tenure of Narasimha Rao. I even had personal knowledge that Chandra Swamy was interacting with all senior officers of law-enforcing agencies and he had the grip on a majority of ministers and all high civil and police officers. If Chandra Swamy were interrogated in planting of explosive device, the truth would have come out as early as 1991.

If Chandra Swamy were prosecuted in the explosive case after proper probe, CBI would have received the important lead to Rajiv's killing. In that case the Jain Commission would not have spent seven years for probing the conspiracy angle. I was expecting from the ministry of home affairs that my notice to the Government of India would be entrusted to the CBI to probe the matter further. This expectation of mine was over the day Chandra Swamy claimed that he had the original copy of the notice which was sent to MHA by me. He proudly claimed further that neither MHA nor CBI would take action on this notice because the prime minister was his disciple.

I met A Chimanlal, a freedom fighter who was once close to CS but after the murder of RG had no respect for him. After hearing my story, he told me that he also knew of the involvement of CS in Rajiv's killing. I knew that Chimanlal had good relations with CS in the eighties. He also revealed that CS had sent LTTE operatives to him a couple of times for staying at the latter's residence in New Delhi and somewhere in Mumbai. He added that CS had visited his residence and he had introduced Kumaran Padmanabhan (KP) to seek his help for some work. Chimanlal also was a great well-wisher of Nehru-Gandhi family. Therefore he promised me to raise the issue of Chandra Swamy before some senior Congress leaders. He was very close to CS and agreed to confide in me subject to the condition that I would not reveal that he had helped KP and LTTE. He had filed a civil writ petition regarding foreign accounts of Indian leaders at the

instance of Subramanian Swamy and CS. He revealed that SS had the evidence of foreign bank accounts of Indian leaders and therefore he had filed his petition before the Supreme Court. He disclosed to me that he was promised a seat in the Rajya Sabha by Subramanian Swamy and Chandra Swamy in lieu of it. He was directed by both the Swamys to highlight the Swiss bank account number of Sharad Pawar which was given by them. He said that they wanted to weaken Sharad Pawar because he was opposing Narasimha Rao's continuance as the prime minister. They had the apprehension that Sharad Pawar might replace the aged prime minister. He also claimed that they had the photocopy of his account. Chimanlal said that both the Swamys were backing out from their promise of the Rajya Sabha seat now. He also told me that he was trying to get the support of SB Chavan, union home minister, who was an opponent of Sharad Pawar. I asked Chimanlal whether the Swiss account of Sharad Pawar was real or fabricated by both the Swamys like that of Ajay Singh, son of VP Singh. He replied that he had seen the papers of the account with Subramanian Swamy and therefore he believed it to be true. He revealed that Pawar's account number was 95, Sharad Pawar 631473-2. Bank Detshe (Clussanie) City Swiss Bank. Mrs Pawar's number was given as 6, Bank Detshe, 136434-1 in the same bank. He also claimed to have an audio tape of the conversation between Subramanian Swamy and Harshman, chief of the controversial Fairfax Company. After two or three days I received a call from Chimanlal asking for all the papers and the evidence regarding Chandra Swamy's involvement in the killing of RG and in other cases. I supplied him with a copy of the legal notice which was sent by me to MHA, the handwritten letter of Rajinder Jain, a copy of the affidavit of Rajinder Jain suspecting Chandra Swamy in the planting of explosives in his Maruti van, and two-three editions of his publication *Janadhar*. He said that he had met SB Chavan and the latter had agreed to probe the role of Chandra

Swamy. He got a letter typed addressed to SB Chavan dated 9 April, 1992 and enclosed a brief note along with the materials given to him by me.[12] He took an appointment from SB Chavan and went to his residence with me. I sat in the room of the PA to the Home Minister at his residence while Chimanlal went inside with his file to meet Chavan. He returned after 20 minutes empty-handed and said he had given the papers to the home minister. I enquired of Chimanlal as to what had happened there. He said that the home minister had assured him that he would take the necessary action on the representation made by him. This was another step by me to inform the ministry of home affairs that Chandra Swamy was involved in a wider conspiracy behind the murder of Rajiv. Here again some very serious questions arise:

1. What action was taken by SB Chavan, the union home minister?
2. Had he sent the representation to CBI?
3. If so, what follow-up action was taken by CBI?
4. Or had SB Chavan buried the representation because the case was related to the guru of the prime minister?

I had made all efforts on my level but had failed to make a dent in Chandra Swamy's total control of the government machinery. I had personal knowledge that Chandra Swamy was the super-prime minister and any action against him was not possible. I and Rajinder Jain had tried several times to seek an appointment with Sonia Gandhi or someone else at 10 Janpath since 1991. Sonia Gandhi may not have been aware that we had sought the time to meet her and it was very hard and tough process to reach her. Rajinder Jain was annoyed with it but I understood that Sonia Gandhi could not call us without knowing about us. I always used to pacify him on this issue because I never lost my emotional feeling of sympathy towards the family of Rajiv. Rajinder Jain was expecting some kind of help from Sonia and the Congress

party because he had suffered a heavy loss in his business due to his knowledge of Rajiv's assassination. I had also suffered loss and humiliation from CS due to the same reason. Rajinder Jain had organised a function for giving awards to literary writers and journalists. The awards were to be given by Vice-President Shankar Dayal Sharma at his residence. Rajinder Jain received a major setback when the vice-president cancelled the proposed programme after the story of an explosive device found in his van appeared in newspapers. He had borrowed money from me and given me a cheque. I was surprised when his cheque was dishonoured because of there being insufficient funds in his account.

I filed a public interest litigation writ petition in the Supreme Court for prosecuting CS which was disposed of by Justice AM Ahmadi and Justice K Ramaswamy on 7 September, 1992 advising me to move the High Court. Then I filed writ petition no. 390 in 1993 in the High Court of Delhi. My petition had carried the details of financial as well as criminal offences committed by CS. I also referred in the petition that CS had a great influence with the government and politicians, and therefore the government had failed to take any action against CS. The High Court issued notices to the government and CS which were returnable on 12 April, 1993. The counsel of CS and the government sought time to file the reply. But they did not file and the Chief Justice of Delhi High Court, Justice Anil Dev Singh disposed it of because the counsel for respondents stated at the bar that the investigation was in progress and assessment order, as far as possible, would be made during the year 1993. The counsel further stated that in case the investigation was not completed during 1993, the petitioner could approach either the concerned department or the court for appropriate order. Justice Anil Dev Singh had referred the above in his order dated 21 May, 1993. Despite this letter, the government did not complete its assessment. My

advocate DK Garg of the Supreme Court had served a legal notice to the chief commissioner of Income Tax with the reference of the High Court order on my petition seeking legal action against CS.[13] I filed a petition in the Supreme Court against the central government for contempt of court in 1995.[17]

After the name of Chandra Swamy appeared before JCI in the statement made by Mahant Sewa Dass Singh, Chandra Swamy contacted me and Rajinder Jain to bring us into his fold. He offered a huge amount to both of us. The *modus operandi* of Chandra Swamy was that he first found out the need of a person as to what he most wanted. He used to contact both of us separately. Rajinder Jain made a telephone call to me in mid-1995 saying that he had been called by Chandra Swamy to his *ashram* and requested me to come with him. I told him that CS had also contacted me but we should not support him because he had killed Rajiv Gandhi and he would also kill us after using us to come out from the present case of Jain Commission and planting of explosive device in his Maruti van. Rajinder Jain went to meet Chandra Swamy and was told that he (CS) would give him money for reinstalling the project of his newspaper if he sided with him.

Chandra Swamy offered me a petrol pump along with a huge amount of money if I sided with him on the issue of Jain Commission. I had made up my mind that this was the best time to know of their plan and the conspiracy. He also said that the case of planting the explosive device would be over if I gave the statement that the explosive was planted by Rajinder Jain himself with the help of Babloo Srivastva to implicate Chandra Swamy. I was surprised to hear this from him. What was he? First, he had planted the explosive in the van of Rajinder Jain through Babloo Srivastva, now he was giving a totally different angle to his story. Chandra Swamy had told me that he and Subramanian Swamy had met Jagjit Singh Chauhan, the leader of Khalistan movement,

during their London visit and he had promised them not to support the statement of Mahant Sewa Dass Singh which Mahant had deposed before JCI. He also said that LTTE would never disclose the larger conspiracy. He said he would get all their assistance because it was mutually agreed by the parties prior to the assassination. He said he would get all who had the knowledge of his involvement in the conspiracy eliminated. He referred to mysterious death of Shanmugham, Sivrasan, Subha and others. I had started to visit his *ashram* daily to show him that I had come into his fold. One day he advised me to find out Rajinder Jain. He also said that he would get Rajinder Jain killed. I asked him why he had thought to get him killed if he would support him. He replied that he believed me but he could not believe Rajinder Jain as he had started to blackmail him regarding his (CS's) involvement in Rajiv's killing. At this time he had started to believe that I was in his fold. Why had he believed me again as I was contesting him in the court by filing a public interest litigation? The reason for it was that I had started to follow his orders as per my plan and design, and he probably thought I was totally in his hold. He asked me to bring my followers to his *ashram* on the day when Arif Mohammad Khan, was coming with thousands of his followers to demonstrate against Chandra Swamy. He was very much scared of Arif. I brought thousands of my supporters to show that I would support him instead of disclosing his involvement in Rajiv's killing. There were two reasons for my doing that:

1. I was scared that he might get me killed before my deposition, and that he would not think of getting me killed if I showed to him that I was his well-wisher.
2. I wanted to know the further part of the conspiracy behind the assassination of RG.

Chandra Swamy used to say that I would be the chief minister of Haryana one day because of his support. This assurance was given because he wanted me to help him.

I had learnt many things about Chandra Swamy and how he blackmailed high dignitaries. He used to offer huge amounts to them, and his followers used to make video films of VIPs receiving the clandestine amounts from him. He had several rooms. Different rooms were for different purposes. If he had to threaten anybody he did so only when he had confirmed that the person did not have any tape in his pocket. He was more than a 'don' of a film story. He used to interact with all types of persons. He had a chain of contacts with every political party and terrorist group. Big names from all walks of life were visiting his *ashram* for some reason or the other. He had revived his relationship with Rajinder Jain who met me at his *ashram*. Chandra Swamy had purchased his loyalty. After the incident of the discovery of the explosive device from his van he was on the road without any money, business or means of livelihood. He used to say that he had ruined his life by disclosing to me the involvement of Chandra Swamy behind the assassination. Even his wife had left him during his bad days. I found that he was always tense. He would not have surrendered before Chandra Swamy if he had any financial support from any one. He had the view that the killers of Rajiv Gandhi were big guns and he was not able to fight against them without any support. He said that *roti* and life was more important than patriotism and truth. Therefore he had received money from Chandra Swamy. I met him last in October-November 1995 before my deposition. Rajinder Jain had his own problems and he had come to a stage that he could not live without any financial assistance. It was unfortunate that a key witness of the conspiracy theory was exploited by the conspirators for years and brought to a stage where he could not make both ends meet. I was not in position either to give money or to assist him to start a new business for his livelihood. Chandra Swamy had destroyed him like he was destroying me. It is ironical that friends may forget their friendship but enemies do not forget their enemity. The Congress of Rajiv Gandhi was ruling the country but it was

supporting and protecting the killers of Rajiv Gandhi instead of the key witnesses who could have helped the law to prosecute the culprits involved in his killing. In these circumstances, Rajinder Jain surrendered completely before the conspirators and the latter could use him as they liked.

Chandra Swamy, with the active support of Subramanian Swamy, had thought to depose falsely before JCI considering that Jagjit Singh Chauhan, Rajinder Jain, KP, Parbhakaran and me all were with him. After ensuring his defence, he appeared before JCI to depose. Replying to several questions he denied his hand in Rajiv Gandhi's killing. I was also going along with him and the other members of his group to the commission purposely to know more about the assassination. He used to take the help of various advocates for the preparation of his deposition, but mainly he relied on Subramanian Swamy who would sit in front of the witness box and whenever Chandra Swamy was asked to give the answer in positive or negative, Subramanian Swamy would give the signal by body language to Chandra Swamy. This was another conspiracy hatched by both the Swamys to make a mockery of the proceedings. Chandra Swamy was denying all the suggestions of the various advocates during his testimony. During his entire deposition he was scared of KK Tewary because he assumed that he had enough material evidence to confront him. CS threatened Tewary through his followers when the proceeding was over for lunch. Tewary left the venue of the commission in protest saying that he was not able to cross-examine him further under such circumstances. But he had cross-examined him very well. He asked Chandra Swamy whether he knew Rajinder Jain, to which he replied in the negative. He further asked him some questions regarding Rajinder Jain but Chandra Swamy said that he did not have any knowledge. He also asked Chandra Swamy whether he knew that I had filed a writ petition for seeking the direction from the High Court to make the government initiate the proceedings for his prosecution. He

looked at me pondering over what reply to give. He expected some kind of hint from me by sign language but I did not react. After a thought, he replied that he had no knowledge about that petition. On the same night he told me that he had told a lie before the commission because he thought I and Rajinder Jain were his supporters. He also clarified that he had denied his knowledge about us as he had the fear that the commission might issue summons to me and Rajinder Jain to probe his suspected role. If he had admitted his acquaintance with me and Rajinder Jain, Tewary would have asked him more questions about his role in RG's assassination. CS was right because after his denial, Tewary could not ask further questions on this issue.

Nothing had come up during his cross-examination as he had concealed every relevant fact. After his deposition, he became more caring for me. He tried to get my affidavit in his favour which I did not give despite his offer of a huge amount of money and other benefits. He was also continuing to threaten me in order to get my affidavit. A few months before my deposition I was inducted in the BJP by LK Advani. I had joined BJP because the Congress and its government at the centre were virtually being run by Chandra Swamy through his disciple Narasimha Rao and I had a need of political shelter for continuing my crusade against RG's assassins. BJP had promised to field me as a candidate from Rohtak parliamentary constituency. Advani visited Haryana and stopped at my village where thousands of my followers had assembled to welcome him. He was very happy to see such a huge gathering of farmers in an early morning of mid-1995. He had remarked that the BJP had a base only in urban areas in Haryana and, for the first time, the farmers were welcoming him because of my influence. I had told the BJP leaders before joining that I was leaving the Congress to fight against the killers of Rajiv Gandhi. BJP had assured that it would protect me from CS's conspiracy to eliminate me either politically or physically.

After sometime the BJP leadership asked me to organise a farmers' rally in some village of Rohtak because BJP had never organised a rally in the Jat belt of Haryana earlier. I successfully organised a rally at Chhara village in Rohtak in August, 1995 which was addressed by Sushma Swaraj, Sahib Singh Verma and others. The BJP leadership was quite happy with the result of my rally and acknowledged the influence which I wielded among the Jats. I had enlarged BJP's political base. Chandra Swamy started to pressurise me in BJP too. The day Arif Mohammad was leading the demonstration in front of Chandra Swamy's *ashram*, Sunder Lal Patwa was inside the *ashram*. Chandra Swamy had also good relations with Bhairon Singh Sekhawat, Vijaya Raje Scindia, Uma Bharati and several other leaders of BJP. I received some telephone calls from a person who claimed to be Bhairon Singh Sekhawat. The caller used to say that he would ensure my Lok Sabha ticket if I would support CS. I had not believed CS regarding his relation with BS Sekhawat, then chief minister of Rajasthan and a top functionary of BJP, but one day I found Sekhawat at his *ashram* at lunch time. CS wanted to introduce him to me to impress me. I, somehow, avoided that.

He once conveyed to me that in view of his closeness to a number of senior BJP leaders, it would be in my interest to sign the affidavit in his favour. Only I know what pressure was faced by me. I knew that he would get me thrown out from BJP too. He realised that he could not influence me by any means. Once he told me that though he had succeeded to bring many bigwigs into his sphere of influence, he had failed to do so with me. I had seen that all the top leaders of the Congress and the opposition were his devotees and worshippers. Everyone was going to his *ashram*. Hostile foreign powers had found his *ashram* as a centre to acquire vital information and secrets of the country. The heads of civil and police departments, the chief election commissioner, most of the ministers, CMs and MPs were his frequent

visitors. PV Narasimha Rao and Chandra Swamy used to frequently speak on the phone to decide the fate of high dignitaries. I had felt that the authorities governing the country were like his pawns. I had neither seen a powerful person like Chandra Swamy nor read or heard of such a person. The prime minister was his rubber stamp. His *ashram* was a *sangam* (confluence) of the opposition and the ruling party.

I had understood that Chandra Swamy would harm me in BJP too. I was thinking what to do. I had the firm opinion that I would not change my stand on the issue of Rajiv Gandhi's killing. I was feeling that I was left out alone. All the roads to advancement in politics started from Chandra Swamy's *ashram* and ended there. He had the remote control of not only the Congress but also the BJP. He had threatened to finish me not only politically but physically also.

I decided to be on the side of truth and to oppose those behind the plot to kill Rajiv Gandhi, despite threats to my life and to my political career. Everyone had to die some day; some die naturally or in accidents and some get killed. I decided that I would rather be killed by the assassins of Rajiv Gandhi than live in fear of them. I conveyed my decision to my family members, well-wishers and relatives. I was alone in the battle of truth against the assassins. I prepared myself to sacrifice my life, the lives of my family and my political career before approaching JCI. I filed my affidavit with some corroborative evidences. Before filing my affidavit the chairman of the commission had observed that the affidavit should be brief. Therefore I filed a brief affidavit and narrated only a part of my knowledge, which is why a very important fact remained undeposed because I did not have the assistance of an advocate. I appeared in the witness box for three days and was cross-examined by several parties including Ashok Arora, the advocate of Chandra Swamy. After my deposition I started to participate in the proceedings to assist the commission. I cross-examined PV Narasimha Rao, Lakhubhai

Pathak, SS Mohapatra and others. My deposition was corroborated by the veteran freedom fighter Chimanlal during his deposition but Chimanlal concealed some important fact. He was continually saying that he would tell something important at the appropriate time but he did not reveal it to JCI till he was alive. He died before the submission of the final report by Justice MC Jain.

SS Mohapatra, the former general secretary of AICC was also summoned for verifying my statement deposed in the commission. I had an old relationship with him. I had come to know that he was contacted by Chandra Swamy and that he had agreed not to say anything before the commission against CS. I decided to tape my conversation with Mohapatra. I knew that this step taken by me would not be appreciated in any quarters, including the family of the deceased Rajiv Gandhi, but I had no alternative except to tape the conversation of Mohapatra to unearth the conspiracy. Had I not taped the important information, the truth would not have come from him. Although he had concealed the vital facts which were in his knowledge during his deposition, yet he had unwillingly corroborated my deposition.

He went on saying things about Chandra Swamy in his deposition that were not relevant but he did not disclose what he used to tell me about him. Chandra Swamy's hostility towards Rajiv Gandhi in his utterances has come only on record from his deposition. If I had not recorded the telephonic conversation which I had with Mohapatra on 17 and 18 December, 1995, nothing would have come in the evidence from him. From the taped version it appeared that the horoscope of Rajiv Gandhi was being studied to know the span of his life and Chandra Swamy was interested in someone else to be made the prime minister.

These tapes were produced before the commission and Mohapatra was confronted with what he had said. According to the taped version of Mohapatra, CS had called a meeting of astrologers after two or three days of Indira Gandhi's

assassination at the apartment of the noted film producer Harkh Chand Nahta. It was also attended by Romesh Bhandari, HN Bahuguna, SS Mohapatra, Chander Shekhar and others. They all wanted to know the span of life of RG. After examining RG's horoscope, the astrologers could not say anything because they did not know the birth-place of RG which was considered to be necessary for making any prediction. Mohapatra had revealed that CS had someone else in his mind to be made the prime minister. He had told me in the conversation that the Punjab exremists would not spare any progeny of Indira Gandhi.

When Mohapatra was cross-examined by Ashok Arora, counsel for Chandra Swamy, he said that he did not recognise the voice in the first tape to be his. He was pulled up by Justice Jain who said that the voice in the tape could be recognised from an earlier tape of his election speech or by any other technique. Then Mohapatra had said that there may have been some conversation prior to what had been recorded and that he did not remember the conversation. He also said that sentences appeared to be disjointed and added that it could be that something might have been deleted since there was incoherence in the conversation relating to AB Vajpayee and the recording could be edited. I was surprised to hear this from Mohapatra because the previous day he had admitted the telephonic conversation in the tapes during his cross-examination by RN Mittal, counsel for the Congress. I had given the transcript of the tapes, but only a part of it was played to confirm his voice and he had admitted it. When complete script carrying several pages was shown to Mahapatra, he admitted that the contents of conversation were completely correct. But after one day he had changed his stand. I knew that he would not reveal his knowledge regarding CS's involvement before the commission and therefore I had taped his conversation to bring the truth on record. I had also cross-examined him. I put to him various questions. He was even confronted with material evidence

of his handwriting and signature. I had exposed him and finally he had stated during his cross-examination by me that he was not disputing the contents of the tapes. With his acceptance of the content of the tapes, I had succeeded to unveil the truth through the tapes. Mohapatra had claimed to have the proof in the conversation in the tapes that Chandra Swamy wanted to finish Rajiv Gandhi, but during his cross-examination he stated that he did not remember having said that. He had not denied having the proof but had evaded the question by saying that he did not remember. It would mean he had the proof because the denial did not come. MDMA should probe what proof he had. He also stated that he knew Chandra Swamy from his young age of 17 years when the latter was a youth Congress worker called Nemi Chand Jain before his *diksha*. Mohapatra had the oldest relation with Chandra Swamy and he stated that he was not meeting Chandra Swamy from 1991 after Narasimha Rao had taken over as the prime minister. He further said that on the day of assassination he was in the USA. He also said that he had no pressure on him from any quarter, much less from Israel or MOSSAD, not to speak about the conspiracy behind Rajiv Gandhi's assassination although he was a member of Indo-Israel Friendship Association. It would appear from his deposition that he did not speak the truth completely because he had good relations with Israel. But important evidence had come in his deposition regarding Chandra Swamy's hostility towards Rajiv Gandhi as Mohapatra had supported my statement that CS had threatened to finish the whole Nehru-Gandhi family before us at Hanuman Vatika in 1998.

He also acknowledged the statement issued by him, Chander Shekhar, KP Unnikrishnan, Devilal, Ajit Singh, Satya Pal Malik and Datta Samant in favour of Chandra Swamy and against Rajiv Gandhi in March 1988.[5] CS had expressed his anger against Rajiv Gandhi and said that he would get Rajiv Gandhi killed as Indira Gandhi was killed.

Chimanlal, the veteran freedom fighter, had also corroborated my statement regarding the above utterances made by CS. After the testimony of SS Mohapatra and Chimanlal, the next turn was of Rajinder Jain to appear in the witness box.

The commission summoned Rajinder Jain but in between he filed his affidavit on 18 December, 1995 at 1.30 p.m. in which he had made several allegations against me. All his allegations were false and concocted. He blamed me that I had approached him to take his affidavit in support of my deposition. He claimed that I had slapped him on 13 December, 1995 at 6 p.m. and that I would approach him again on 18 December, 1995 at 3 p.m. for taking his affidavit in my favour. It was a concocted story made by PV Narsimha Rao, Subramanian Swamy and CS because the very day I had deposed before the commission up to nearly 5 p.m. and from there I had returned to my house along with about hundred villagers who were with me for security purpose and moral support.

These were elderly persons along with youth. They all were from Chhara village. We had reached my home at the same time which was claimed by Rajinder Jain that I had slapped him — i.e. at 6 p.m.[14] They all took some food with me and remained there till 8 p.m. His claim also fell on its face as he complained against me after five days which goes well beyond being an afterthought. The villagers filed an affidavit and application in the commission that they were reputed farmers and were with me up to 8 p.m. on 13 December, 1995.[15] They stated that after my deposition, which ended at about 5 p.m., we all had directly come to my house in our vehicles. Therefore the story told by Rajinder Jain was concocted to mislead the commission. Regarding his allegation that I would be visiting him on 18 December at 3 p.m., the story was itself fiction because he had filed his affidavit at 1.30 p.m. on the same date and if he had any apprehension of my visit to obtain his affidavit in advance, why had he not called the police to get me

arrested red-handed? The entire village gave a written undertaking specifying that I was present in their village at the time and date which was given by him in his affidavit. I had reached their village at 2.30 p.m. for addressing a public meeting and the meeting was addressed by me at 4 p.m. because in between other speakers were addressing it. I stayed there up to 6 p.m. and it takes more than three hours to reach the place of Rajinder Jain. It was not possible to reach him before 9 p.m. in the night. Therefore his this allegation was also unsustainable as he was playing in the hands of Chandra Swamy, Subramanian Swamy and Narasimha Rao. They came to know that they would not be able to prove Rajinder Jain's false claim in the commission as I had the strong evidence against his claim. This was the reason that Rajinder Jain was not allowed to appear in the witness box by them (Rao, CS and SS). Moreover, Subramanian Swamy had the experience of his deposition when he had made allegations against Jayalalitha and others by narrating a concocted story and was found to be an unreliable witness during his testimony. They knew that a liar is always caught in the witness box during his cross-examination in confrontation of the material documents. I was cross-examined by Ashok Arora, the counsel of CS and earlier of SS, but he could not disprove what I had deposed, unlike what Ram Jethmalani did with Subramanian Swami's testimony. I had filed an application before the commission seeking permission to cross-examine Rajinder Jain to prove him false. Regarding his claim of receiving seven slaps by me, he would have been admitted in a hospital if I had slapped him even once, but he was in the pink of his health. My this narration was also published in a newspaper. The vital fact to note is that he did not deny his handwritten note,[8] his affidavit[19] and any other part of my material evidence related to him which I had submitted in my deposition before the commission. With his non-denial of the related materials, he had supported my statement. Above all, he had denounced

the statement of CS about him. He admitted that he knew CS, while CS had deposed that he did not know him. Despite his refusal to appear in the witness box, he had supported my deposition. I had produced Rajinder Jain's photograph with CS and KN Aggarwal before the commission.

I would like to draw the attention of the reader towards the proceedings of the commission regarding Rajinder Jain's deposition. He was summoned to appear before the commission with whatever evidence was in his possession on 28 December, 1995. He did not come in the witness box because he and both the Swamys knew that he would be proven false. Next day on 29th the 52-month old Jain Commission faced an unprecedented development when the counsel of Rajinder Jain bluntly told the panel that he would challenge the commission's order to summon his client. This was the first time in the history of probe panels when a witness had not only defied the summons but also declared to challenge the summoning. The commission had briefly considered the issue on 29 December when the counsel of Rajinder Jain had argued whether his client was entitled to have the copy of the order summoning him and the basis of it, and whether he was entitled to get copies of statements of other witnesses who had dragged his name during their testimony. In this regard Jutice Jain had passed an order observing that the summons were themselves an order and that a witness was not entitled to have the copies of statements of other witnesses on the basis of whose testimony he might have been summoned. The next day Adish C Aggarwal, the counsel for Rajinder Jain, had also moved a two-page application on behalf of his client seeking one month's time for enabling the petitioner to move the Supreme Court. The commission chairman disposed of it by declining to grant the time to Rajinder Jain and again directed him to depose on 9 January. This was another conspiracy hatched by Chandra Swamy, Subramanian Swamy and others after my evidence to cover up the probe of Jain Commission. First they managed to file the false affidavit of Rajinder Jain in

the probe panel, followed by their move for taking the statements of the witnesses, including me, because they had a plan to get him prepared according to these statements. After failing to get the statements, he threatened to challenge the order of the commission by moving the Supreme Court against summoning him. Both the Swamys were getting the full backing of Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao. Earlier SIT and the government of Rao had moved the High Court and the Supreme Court for winding up and curtailing the commission but had failed. This time they were going to take him to the Supreme Court. They had no legal base to challenge the commission in the Supreme Court and therefore they did not move. Narasimha Rao, Subramanian Swamy, Chandra Swamy and others, including senior officers, were desperately trying to cover up the probe panel because after our evidences the commission had a lead to go for unearthing the conspiracy which had started to appear in the light from the darkness due to our testimonies. Now they knew that the probe panel had enough evidence to reach up to their suspected role and therefore they hatched one more conspiracy to browbeat it by establishing in the minds of the people that the commission had turned into a platform for scoring on their political rivals. They were again preparing new grounds to wind up the commission. In this context, Rajinder Jain submitted an audio cassette on 8 January, one day before his testimony, claiming that it was a taped conversation between him and the Law Minister HR Bhardawaj. The audio cassette was fabricated for three reasons:

1. To tarnish the image of the commission in the public eye for winding it up.
2. To make Sonia Gandhi submit that Arjun Singh, RN Mittal and Justice MC Jain were conspiring to implicate her in the wider conspiracy.
3. To make Congressmen and general public of the country suspect that the commission was trying to assist Arjun

Singh for making him the prime minister after dumping PV Narasimha Rao.

Although Rajinder Jain filed the fabricated audio cassette conspiring with both the Swamys and Rao, he again did not appear in the witness box on 9 January, 1996. He was not allowed by the conspirators to appear because they knew that their suspected role would become wide open and the false affidavit along with fabricated tape would not sustain during his cross-examination. Justice Jain had even warned to issue an arrest warrant for him and further directed him to appear the next day. He again did not turn up and a last oppurtunity was given to him to appear on 11 January. In between both the Swamys managed to get the audio cassette published as a news article on the front page of Hindi daily *Rashtriya Sahara* on 11 January. It came to my notice in the morning of 11 January and it also came to notice to all who were participating in the proceedings. But again Rajendra Jain did not come because both the Swamys and Rao would have been exposed if he had come to depose. On the very day KK Tewary, the former minister of state for external affairs, argued before the commission that this audio tape and the subsequent news in the *Rashtriya Sahara* was an open attack on the probe panel to scuttle the probe. Tewary also said that the cassette was fabricated under a wider conspiracy hatched by Chandra Swamy and government agencies. Congress counsel RN Mittal also objected arguing that Rajinder Jain was playing in the hands of Chandra Swamy and instead of appearing in the witness box, he was indulging in the conspiracy to tarnish the image of the commission. Despite the liberty given by the probe panel, the witness did not turn to the right path. Even after noting all the relevant facts and circumstances by going through the conduct of Rajinder Jain regarding his false affidavit and fabricated tape, and his intention to conceal the truth, the chairman of the probe panel again gave liberty to Rajinder Jain by asking his advocate for bringing him in the commission. BL Wadhera,

an advocate and party to the commission, suggested that a team on behalf of the commission be sent to Rajinder Jain to convince him that he should come in the interest of justice and law, and that they all would support him during his cross-examination. Wadhera also offered to go with Rajinder Jain's counsel Aggarwal to his house. Justice Jain allowed them because, being the chairman of the probe panel, he had taken all the steps to bring Rajinder Jain in the witness box. They returned and told the commission that he had refused to come despite their best efforts. It had never happened in the chequered history of the commissions which were set up at different times that a witness was changing his version almost daily and it was apparent that his intention was to damage the probe instead of assisting it. Finally, Justice Jain dropped the summons issued to him observing that the commission might not listen to him if he himself applied to be heard in the future. Justice Jain even told his counsel that his client need not be called to depose and could rest at home as he was avoiding the commission. The counsel denied it and said that Rajinder Jain was willing to present himself before the commission even at the risk of his life, but Justice Jain replied that the opportunity to depose had already been missed by his client. Thereby, the episode of Rajinder Jain was over. I called a press conference on 13 January, 1996 and denied the allegations which were made against me in the audio taped conversation between the Law Minister HR Bhardwaj and Rajinder Jain. It was indicated in the conversation that I was close to HR Bhardwaj. It was a total lie. I told the press that I had never met Bhardwaj and I could not even identify the law minister if he came in front of me. I had not met Bharadwaj ever in my life. The spokesperson of AICC (Tewari), Rajinder Jain (not the witness) had denied the allegation levelled against Arjun Singh, the working president of the party. Chandra Swami, Rao, Chautala and Subramanian Swamy had tried to search any evidence against me for giving to the press to attack my character and discredit

my image in public. But my life is a open book. I am a god-fearing person who never indulged in any criminal offences. I did not enter into any shady deals with foreign agencies despite the best efforts made by Rajinder Jain, KN Aggarwal and Chandra Swamy. I knew that they would try to harm me by every way but I was confident that no one could damage my reputation. One day Chandra Swamy managed to get a photocopy of an arrest warrant in the name of Ramesh Dalal and sent it to the press to be published.[16] I received several calls from the media inquiring into it. I told them that the person against whom the warrant was issued was another Ramesh Dalal, a resident of village Silothi in Jhajjar, Haryana, who used to be close aide of Sharad Pawar during the days of his old party Congress (S). This other Ramesh Dalal had contested an assembly election from Haryana on the symbol of Pawar's party in 1982 and could not secure more than 300 votes. He is uneducated and presently associated with Sheila Kaul, a former minister and governor. I advised the press reporters to verify the identification because that warrant was not related to me.

After some days I went to the Supreme Court as I had filed the case of contempt of court against the Government of India as to why did the ministry of finance not prosecute Chandra Swamy despite the order of the High Court on my petition of 21 May, 1993. The arrest of CS was apprehended on 9 February, 1996. The Supreme Court observed, deciding my petition, that it was a fit case where the apex court could also intervene. The Court further said, "As the govenment had given an undertaking to the High Court of 21 May, 1993, it would be appropriate that the matter be decided by the same court." This news appeared in *The Times of India* with the caption 'Finance Ministry faces contempt charge, Chandra Swamy tax case referred to HC.'[17] After some months, Chandra Swamy was arrested in the cases referred by me in the petition. The police had come to me in the Supreme Court with the warrant to arrest me but I proved

my identity and that it was another Ramesh Dalal against whom the warrant had been issued. Chandra Swamy, Rao and SS could not succeed to do anything worst against me. The Rao government had also directed the intelligence agencies to collect any information that would damage my credibility. But they failed because I was on the side of the truth and my image was clean.

The fabricated tape submitted in the commission had proved to be a slap on the face of the Rao government when the prime minister did not dismiss the Law Minister Bhardwaj from the ministry. In the taped conversation it was claimed by Bhardwaj that he was to project Arjun Singh for prime ministership and had conspired against Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao. If the contents of tape were true, Rao would have dismissed the law minister on the charge of conspiring against him. The prime minister himself was involved in the conspiracy to fabricate this tape because he did not take any action against either his law minister or Rajinder Jain despite the demand made from several quarters. There was also a news in the press that Chander Shekhar had met Rao in this regard. If the tape was not fabricated, Rao had various options, including getting the case registered against the culprits if anyone was conspiring to topple his government. There was also a news that the matter was referred to IB but there is no explanation on the part of Rao.

As I was on the right path, I filed an application on 24 December, 1996 before JCI through my advocate Rajiv Sharma for summoning HR Bhardwaj to find out the truth behind the audio tape.[18] Justice Jain neither rejected this application nor summoned HR Bhardwaj to verify the story behind it. It will be better if he explains why he did not take action on it. It may be that Justice Jain did not call Bhardwaj because *prima facie* the tape looked fabricated and had lost its weight, but he is the only competent person to explain it. He was the chairman of the probe panel and he would have a better explanation. As per the law, no materials, affidavits

can be taken on record without the cross-examination of the witness. Rajinder Jain and Chandra Swamy had waited for the opportunity to disprove my evidence during my cross-examination. The opportunity was open for Rajinder Jain to prove all his claims by appearing in the witness box. If Rajinder Jain was right in his allegation, he would have appeared before the commission. Justice Jain was very right when he called him a liar and said that the commission would not take cognizance of any material filed by Rajinder Jain and there was no need of an undesired witness who was concealing material facts of the case. Justice Jain also observed that the commission had my deposition along with material evidence regarding the conspiracy theory and therefore the commission had no need to record the evidence of a cheater witness Rajinder Jain.

Rajinder Jain's affidavit itself disproves his allegation against me. He claimed in it that I had made a false statement before the commission related to him as under:

1. That there was a meeting in his presence with LTTE supremo Parbhakaran and other LTTE leaders and that I was introduced to the LTTE leaders at the residence of Chandra Swamy.
2. That he and Kailash Nath Aggarwal alias Mamaji gave information to me that rupees 40 crore were offered to be given to the then President of India Gyani Zail Singh to dismiss the Rajiv Gandhi government and the meeting was also attened by PV Narasimha Rao.

This entire statement was false because I had never given both the informations to the commission through the source of Rajinder Jain and Kailash Nath Aggarwal. I had stated that I was introduced to LTTE persons by Chandra Swamy himself at his *ashram* and I had never said that Rajinder Jain was also present. So far as the offer of Rs 40 crore to the President Gyani Zail Singh was concerned, my source of information was Mohapatra and I had never told the

commission that I got this information from either Rajinder Jain or KN Aggarwal. His claim in this regard was also totally false. In the same affidavit he had denied that Chandra Swamy was a party to planting an explosive device in his car and that Chandra Swamy had used Om Prakash Srivastva alias Babloo Srivastva to plant the explosive. This content of the statement is enough to prove that he had filed his affidavit on false grounds playing in the hands of Subramanian Swamy, Chandra Swamy, Rao and others because before and after this affidavit he had repeatedly said on record that he had suspected Chandra·Swamy to have planted the explosive device in his car. He had written a letter to me on 31 July, 1991 to seek my help in the case of planting of the device in his car suspecting Chandra Swamy to be behind it.[8] This handwritten note of Rajinder Jain was followed by his own affidavit attested by an oath commissioner.[19] which he had given to me on 27 March, 1992. He had gone on to say more in the affidavit against Chandra Swamy. He said that he had complete suspicion and belief that this explosive device was planted in his car by Chandra Swamy under a deep conspiracy because he had published a news regarding Chandra Swamy's involvement in RG's assassination in his Hindi weekly *Janadhar*. He had further disclosed that after the news Chandra Swamy had threatened him directly and indirectly, and he had claimed in the 26 July, 1991 issue of his weekly that he would disclose the threat in the next issue. After three days of this publication CS had planted the bomb in his van. He had given an audio cassette to DCP Deol regarding the threats to him by Chandra Swamy. He also revealed that the police had not taken any action against Chandra Swamy till that day, while FIR No. 324/91 dated 29 July, 1991 was registered at the Mandir Marg Police Station. Later after four years, gangster Babloo Srivastva made a disclosure that the explosive was planted by him in the car of Rajinder Jain at the instance of CS. The case was reopened and a challan was filed by Delhi Police in the court

of Additional Sessions Judge GP Thareja vide S.C. No. 258 of 98 under Sections 4 and 5 of the Explosive Substances Act read with Section 120B of the IPC against the seven accused, namely: Chandra Swamy, his brother Rikab Jain alias Babu Chacha, his nephew Gyan Chand Gandhi alias Mamu, Virender Pant, Manmohan Sehgal, Sanjay Khanna alias Chunky and Babloo Srivastva.

In the challan Satnam Singh alias Fauji alias Sukhdev Singh, who had arranged the explosive from Rajpura in Punjab, was declared a proclaimed offender. This case was assigned to the court of Additional Sessions Judge Thareja in the month of October 1998 in pursuance of the order of the High Court dated 8 September, 1998 noting that the case was unnecessarily being postponed. Therefore it was listed for hearing on the question of charge. According to the order of the trial court, Rajinder Jain had stated under Section 161 CrPC before the investigating officer of the case that he had met Chandra Swamy at his residence in July-August 1984 and predicted that Indira Gandhi would not be alive on 2 November, 1984. Chandra Swamy had utilised his prediction among all his political sources and had got publicity as a *tantrik*. Thereafter Rajinder Jain was regularly meeting Chandra Swamy who used to assist him monetarily. Chandra Swamy had even taken him on foreign trips, once declaring him a royal guest of Sultan of Brunei, and he had returned to the country on 6 March, 1985. Chandra Swamy had remained abroad and after that their relations became more deep. The learned judge dismissed charge against the accused observing:

> Thus white-collared astrologer (Rajendra Jain), yellow-collared *tantrik* (Chandra Swamy), and blue-collared alleged criminals (Babloo Srivastva and others) had formed a *sangam* (confluence) to cheat those who intended their work done from the corridors of government with the aid of such persons. It seems the greed of money later

> resulted in their internal rivalry. According to the story set up by the state, yellow-collared tantrik (CS) tried to shut the mouth and curtailed the liberty of white-collared astrologer (Rajinder Jain) through the police agency of the state, and the blue-collared person (Babloo Srivastva) in their turn attempted to misuse the machinery of law through their confessional statement and thereby curtail the liberty of yellow-collared *tantrik* (CS). It seems it is the rivalry which is the basic cause which resulted into challan in the present case by misusing the agency of law. One group has successfully misused the police agency of state in curtailing the liberty of other.

The court also observed:

> If one goes to the proceedings of the case, till date, the court certainly finds that the state machinery of law also succeeded not only in allowing the misuse of the machinery of law but also in prolonging the case against the accused on one ground or other. As a consequence the charge could not be framed for years together.

The court couldn't frame the charge because the chargesheet was based on confessional statement. The investigation agency did not work hard to collect the evidence against CS for prosecution. The police did not go to the point from where the explosive device was brought. As per the chargesheet, the device was brought from Punjab terrorists through Satnam Fauji who was not arrested in the case to find out the basic evidence which was relevant to frame the charge. Therefore the learned judge also observed:

> The state should realise that such an approach as in the present case will encourage such white, blue and yellow collared persons to move around the seat of power by misusing their knowledge of science and misusing muscle power and dupe the public at large, or encourage corruption in public and misuse of seat of power.

He furher observed:

> The incumbents of seats of power should also take notice from facts of case that alleged scholars in science of astrology and *tantriks* in connivance with blue collared criminals are encouraging corruption in the society taking advantage of their connection or so called publicity of association with them by the fourth house of the journalist (press).

This case was being investigated by inspector Giri who used to try to contact me in this case through one lady Kusum Sehgal residing at Connaught Place for taking the evidence from me. I had the evidence but they did not take it from me officially as I had advised them several times. Inspector Giri filed an incomplete challan purposely in lieu of money to get CS discharged from the case

THE ROLE OF INSPECTOR GIRI

The killers of RG were so powerful that they finished every evidence that could be used to unearth the conspiracy. The Inspector of Police SK Giri posted at Special Staff, New Delhi, was the investigating officer (IO) of the explosive device case which was planted by Chandra Swamy through the gangster Babloo Srivastva, Giri had sold his loyalty to Chandra Swamy. He even had the protection of his bosses — ACP Alok Kumar and DCP Aditya Arya. Chandra Swamy, Rajinder Jain, Chandra Swamy's secretary Vikram, and these police officers had hatched another conspiracy to cover up the case of planting the explosive device in the van of Rajinder Jain because the case could have been further evidence in RG's murder case. This case was very much relevant in the light of factual position and conspiracy behind the murder of RG which is still unsolved. The police had also closed the file of this case in 1992 itself due to pressure from PV Narasimha Rao because his godfather Chandra Swamy was involved in

it. Moreover, RG's assassination was also related to this case. Therefore, under heavy pressure, the case was closed as an untraced case. If the police had arrested Chandra Swamy in July-August, 1991 itself, the mystery of RG murder would have come to light even before the formation of the Jain Commission on 23 August, 1991. After the middle of 1995, Inspector Giri had started to re-investigate the case. I was also a witness but he did not record my statement. He did not even record the statement of other persons who would have told him that the explosive device was planted to cover up the conspiracy behind the assassination of RG. Inspector Giri had developed good relations with Chandra Swamy, Rajinder Jain and Vikram during the investigation. He had also good rapport with Kusum Sehgal, a resident of Connaught Place. The police officers used to ask her to take the documents from me to meet with their plan to close the case because they were scared of the sequence of post-assassination events. DCP Aditya Arya was involved to cover up the case again as it was closed four years ago. The police had taken a huge amount from the duo CS and Vikram. Prime Minister Rao was also involved in this new conspiracy because he was the only person who had benefited from the murder of RG and become the prime minister. Therefore, the police had filed a weak chargesheet to get the acquittal of Chandra Swamy in the case. The chargesheet as well the final order by the learned additional sessions judge, Delhi, is an evidence that the chargesheet was not strong enough even to frame the charges. The police had come to know that the bomb was brought from Rajpura in Punjab and the accused had stayed there in a hotel and had eaten food on the way. If the police had taken the evidence in this regard along with my statement and the statements of the concerned persons who had the knowledge of it, the chargesheet would not have been rejected at the initial stage. The proceedings of the case were delayed deliberately till Rajinder Jain was killed. Although the challan was forwarded for trial on 22 November, 1996

by the SHO, Mandir Marg Police Station and the IO of the case, Inspector SK Giri, Special Staff, New Delhi, yet the police didn't pursue the case for early trial. From the date of filing this challan in November 1996 this case was delayed by at least two years by the accused and the police without any reason. In pursuance of the order of the High Court dated 8 September, 1998, this case was assigned to the Additional Sessions Judge GP Thareja, New Delhi. The court had taken notice that the case was unnecessarily being postponed. Therefore it was listed for hearing on the question of charges and was decided on 16 December, 1998 after the murder of Rajinder Jain on 7 January, 1998. Again the picture that emerges is that the case was delayed because the key witness Rajinder Jain in whose van the explosive device was found had made up his mid to depose. His statement in the case would have unearthed the conspiracy behind the assassination of RG. Considering the seriousness of the case, the investigation ought to have been transferred to CBI or the crime branch of Delhi police but it was deliberately not done during the tenure of Rao. The case was listed to frame the charges only after the murder of Rajinder Jain. Subramanian Swamy and Rao knew that CS would be acquitted in the case at the final stage even if the court framed the charge because Rajinder Jain was not alive to depose. The murder of Rajinder Jain was a conspiracy to cover up the key witness who had the knowledge of assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. The reader would be surprised to know that one after another conspiracy was being hatched by CS and Rao to keep the wider conspiracy behind the Rajiv murder folded in mystery. One conspiracy was hatched under the very nose of all the heads of the law-enforcing agencies. I was aware that the killers of RG were destroying one evidence after another and therefore I sought the assistance of Congress but failed. If Congress leaders had supported me, I would not have allowed Inspector Giri to protect CS in the case which was related to the plot to assassinate the former

prime minister. There was a need to form a 'special cell' to monitor all the cases which were related to the sequence of events culminating in RG's murder. Why did not the Congress form a committee to monitor all the cases that were related to the assassination of their leader. As Rajinder Jain had the knowledge about the plot to kill RG, the government should not have withdrawn the security that was provided to Rajinder Jain earlier on the recommendation of JCI, in which case he would not have been killed. It is unfortunate that IB did not recommend for his security despite threats to his life. Inspector SK Giri had certainly joined hands with CS. I am not giving the ideas on probabilities. I have evidences in support of this allegation. In this regard I refer to a public interest litigation (PIL) criminal writ petition No. 809 of 96 filed in the Delhi High Court by Kusum Sehgal on 4 December, 1996 through her advocate Shafi Ullah against several top police officers including Inspector SK Giri. The petition was filed by the same lady who used to ask me to get evidence for the explosive case on behalf of Inspector Giri. She had personal knowledge of what exchanged and transpired between CS and Inspector Giri. The inspector of police, with the knowledge of his seniors, had taken money from CS. She told me that CS would not be prosecuted as the police was tampering with the evidence. She also confirmed that the police had received a huge amount of money from Vikram Singh, the close aide of CS. I advised her to file the case and she filed accordingly. The acting Chief Justice SK Gupta of Delhi High Court had delivered his judgement on the petition on 8 April, 1999. The petition was filed on 4 December, 1996, to seek direction against respondents No. 1 (the government of NCT) and No. 2 (the commissioner of police) to get a fair inquiry conducted through CBI into the recovery of a huge amount of Indian currency and a large quantity of gold from one Duli Chand, a resident of Dakshin Puri in South Delhi. The money and gold was allegedly planted in a flat which used to be locked

by Chandra Swamy since he did not keep the same at his *ashram* because of fear of the CBI raid. During the pendency of the case in the High Court, CBI registered case No. RC-63 (A)/97-DLI on 16 July, 1997 for offence under Section 120 B read with Sections 342, 409, 477A of Indian Penal Code and Section 13 (2) read with 13 (1) (C) and (D) of Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988. Justice SK Gupta observed that there was sufficient evidence to prosecute ACP Suraj Bhan, Inspector Giri, ASI Intzar Hussain and others as CBI had filed a status report before the High Court. CBI informed the court that the papers had already been sent to the ministry concerned for obtaining sanction to prosecute them and, on the receipt of requisite sanction for prosecution, a chargesheet will be filed in the competent court of law. The status report had further recommended departmental action for major penalties against Vinod Parkash, the superintendent customs, and Jitender Kumar, the inspector of customs. In addition, the commissioner of police had also been duly apprised about the alleged inadequate professional interest displayed by Aditya Arya, then DCP, and DK Bhat, Additional DCP, New Delhi.

In brief, the story was of money and gold which was hidden by Vikram, private secretary to CS, in a flat and Duli Chand was the custodian. The money was more in crores of rupees along with gold biscuits, but Inspector Giri and ACP Suraj Bhan had shown the recovery of a much less amount from a taxi at Shankar Road, New Delhi, instead of the flat in South Delhi from where the police took the money. Inspector Giri had taken the amount much before the filing of challan against CS in the explosive device case. The PIL petition seeking direction to prosecute Inspector Giri in corruption case was filed 12 days after the filing of the chargesheet in the explosive case. The petitioner had the knowledge that Inspector Giri had taken bribe from CS. Therefore the chargesheet of explosive case was not on the basis of real facts, circumstances and evidences. Inspector

Giri, ACP Suraj Bhan and their boss DCP Arya knew that the chargesheet filed by them on the basis of confessional statement by the accused would not be sustainable in the court of law as there were several judgements of the Supreme Court in this regard. Police had knowingly filed a weak chargesheet on the basis of confessional statement of the accused so that CS could be protected. Although the police had access to factual and corroborative evidence, yet the police had concealed it from the law.

Chandra Swamy was very much scared of Rajinder Jain because after the submission of Jain Commission's report Rajinder Jain would have revealed the plot to assassinate RG during his interrogation. When Justice Jain was busy in preparing and writing his findings, Rajinder Jain was found dead in mysterious circumstances at his house in Pitampura, North Delhi, on 7 January, 1998. According to the police, an anonymous caller had informed the Pitampura Police at 8.55 p.m. that smoke was coming out from house no VP-9A and that its inhabitant might have died. The police claimed that they broke open the door of the house in the presence of witnesses. Inside, they found Rajinder Jain's body near the bathroom. "Mr. Jain was probably in an inebriated state when the accident occurred because an unfinished glass of liquor was found near his body and some cooked food was also found nearby," the police had claimed. I came to know regarding his death on 8 January, 1998 in the morning from Kusum Sehgal. She had received a call the previous night regarding this incident. She also read out a small news item that had appeared in *Rashtriya Sahara*, a Hindi daily, that Rajinder Jain, an astrologer, had met an accidental death. Kusum had the suspicion and told me in the morning of 8 January 1998 that it might be a case of murder, but the police was describing it as a case of accident. As Rajinder Jain had the knowledge of the wider conspiracy behind the assassination, I too suspected that it might be a case of murder to cover up the conspiracy which was being probed

by the commission. Immediately after that I informed the Chief Reporter PTI Amitabh Rai Chaudhary.

I advised him to find out the reality behind Rajinder Jain's death. PTI flashed the news in all the newspapers. I also contacted the police on phone and told them that the deceased had the knowledge of Rajiv Gandhi's killing and, therefore, my suspicion was that it might be a murder as he was the key witness in any enquiry of the assassination. But DCP Satendra Garg had told the press that it was a clear case of accident. He said:

> On preliminary investigation, it appeared that there was a small fire in the house caused by a short circuit in the room-heater which was kept near the bed in the main room. Apart from a plastic bucket, however, nothing else was burnt.

The body was sent for post-mortem. Though the police claimed that Rajinder Jain apparently died in a fire-related accident, the fire control room was not informed. *The Hindustan Times* carried the news:[20] "The police could not say how the fire was extinguished but they claim that they did not suspect foul play." The district police officer further said, "in case there is a foul play, necessary action would be taken". DCP Garg further added:

> Some documents relating to the Jain Commission were also recovered from Jain's house. A copy of the *Janadhar Bharti* newspaper and some photographs of the victim with some very important persons were also recovered. We cannot, however, say whether the victim was the same Rajinder Jain who had to depose before the Jain Commission.

I had demanded CBI inquiry to probe his death because I was sure that his death was not an accident. On 12 January, *JVG Times* (daily) newspaper published a story with the caption *Jain ayog ke gawaha Rajinder Jain ki hatya mei shak ki sui Chandraswamy ki auor* (the suspicion needle in

murder of Jain Commission witness Rajinder Jain points towards Chandra Swamy). This story revealed that the death of Rajinder Jain was the result of a well-planned conspiracy and not burning. Only after the accused were arrested, the hand behind the assassination of Rajinder Jain could be identified, but the needle of suspicion was centralising towards Chandra Swami. The newspaper had quoted police sources who claimed that Rajinder Jain was killed by professional killers who had been paid about rupees forty lakh for the killing. The reason behind the murder was to prevent Jain to depose against Chandra Swamy in the subsequent proceeding that was to start from Friday. The police sources also said that they had complete knowledge that Rajinder Jain was killed. Therefore frantic efforts were being made to pull the curtain on the matter by declaring it an accident. It was said that Chandra Swami had 'bought' Rajinder Jain's allegiance for money, which was the reason that the latter had not appeared to depose before the commission in spite of being repeatedly summoned to do so. The sources also disclosed that the door of his flat used to be bolted from inside usually, but some of his friends used to go inside after opening the inside latch from outside through a gap in the grill door. This way some people could have entered the house, killed Rajinder Jain and set his body on fire. Sources further claimed that Rajinder Jain had never slept with the heater on. On 20 January, 1998 the post-mortem report appeared in all newspapers supporting my view that Rajinder Jain was killed instead of it being an accidental death. *The Hindustan Times* of the same date had carried a headline with the caption 'Postmortem Report Negates Police Theory' and said that the prime witness of the Jain Commission Rajinder Jain was murdered, contrary to the claims of North-West District Police that he died in an accident. The autopsy report confirmed that Jain was first throttled and then his body was set a fire.[21]

The press revealed vital information while the police was involved to cover up the case. All the informations given in

the newspaper were later found credible. On 11 January, 1998 at night I received the information that Rajinder Jain was killed and subsequently I passed it on to chief reporter PTI. I also told the DCP and Additional DCP of north-west Delhi, but both did not show any interest. I had written a letter to the commissioner of police, Delhi, on 12 January, 1998 informing him regarding the information which I had received from Kusum Sehgal and *JVG Times*. I had also forwarded the letter of Kusum in which she had given vital information to the commissioner.

Next day *The Statesman* had carried a news on the basis of preliminary post-mortem of the body confirming that Rajinder Jain had also sustained head injuries by falling down as there were pieces of plastic from a bucket inside the back of his head. The autopsy experts had opined that the injury was by some external objects. The report also suggested that the heater could not have possibly led to 92 per cent burns in different parts of the body. This report had also given credence to my demand to investigate the matter as his death could be a link to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Kusum had informed the police how one wrestler used to open the inside bolted door from outside. DCP Garg, on the other hand, had ruled out any foul play in the death of Rajinder Jain because all the doors and windows were bolted from inside, which meant that it was impossible for any one to murder him and flee. The police was annoyed with me due to this reason and issued a notice to me dated 14 January, 1998 with the direction to appear before the SHO of Shalimar Bagh Police Station on 15 January, 1998 in the inquest proceedings. The notice sought the record available with me and warned that legal action against me would be taken if I failed to do so. I appeared and produced some papers to the SHO. He replied with vehemence that the death of Rajinder Jain was an accident. No one took my statement in the inquest proceedings. They said that they would call me again when SDM of the area would start the

inquest proceedings, but they never called me. After some days the autospy report appeared in newspapers disclosing the fact that Rajinder Jain was killed instead of the death being accidental. *JVG Times* again had published the news saying that a high police officer had said that he would resign from his post if this death was found to be murder because he was confident of it being accidental, and now he was not available to give this comments on the autopsy report. If I had not insisted that Rajinder Jain was killed, they would have manipulated it as an accidental death to cover up the conspiracy behind the murder.

Although several city policemen were known to Rajinder Jain and he had been given police protection at one time, the police took five days to identify his body. As his wife had left him earlier, she did not come to identify his body. According to a news in *Navbharat Times*, his in-laws were contacted by the police but they had refused even to see the dead body. There was also news that no one was coming forward to perform his last rites. Therefore I made a statement that I would take the body for conducting his funeral. After this, police had contacted his brother Rishabh Jain for this purpose and he was brought from Nainital. The above news of *Hindustan Times* dated 20 January, 1998 had added further:

> Following the discovery of Jain's body, a senior district police officer had said that since both the entry points in the house were found locked from inside and neighbours had confirmed that they saw smoke coming out of the bathroom of the house, on preliminary investigation, it was "a clear case of accident"... The police earlier had floated the theory that Jain was in an inebriated state and he must have caught fire in the room-heater while he was sleeping. "When he realised that he had caught fire, he tried to run to the bathroom where he collapsed and died".

The report further added:

> The postmortem report totally negated the police theory. The victim had suffered 100 per cent burn injuries on the upper parts of his body and had 'boxer's posture' suggesting that the arm joints had been crippled due to intense burns.

The doctor reportedly told the police that Jain had been first throttled. When the grip loosened his head hit the wall and he fell down unconscious. A plastic bucket was kept over his head and the upper part of his body was set afire. After registernig the case of murder at Shalimar Bagh Police Station under Sections 302 and 120B IPC, the case was handed over to the crime branch of Delhi Police. Inspector Rajesh Kumar who had gone to CBI on deputation once was the investigating officer (IO). He called me to take my statement, but when I went there, I was threatened by his senior ACP Mahavir Singh saying that I was the person who had converted the accidental death into murder. I noticed that he was trying to cover up the case. I protested saying that if he considered this to be a case of accidental death, why was I summoned to give my statement and therefore I would not give my statement. He further threatened to implicate me in the case saying that they would never be able to complete their investigation and the case would remain untraceable. Inspector Rajesh objected to the behaviour of his boss saying that he was the IO of the case and I was his witness and he had no role to interfere. Inspector Rajesh took my statement and he also said that they have found some evidence to arrest Chandra Swamy shortly. But after some months I found that he had been transferred to a better place as an SHO in East Delhi. A PIL was filed in the High Court pleading that the case be transferred to CBI. This PIL is still pending in the High Court and, after a gap of more than two years, police could not complete the investigation. I had also suggested to MDMA, when they contacted me, to take this case because

it was related to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. I knew that the case of Dr. Tanwar, who was killed and parts of the body were found in a plastic bag, was still an untraced case. He was the personal doctor of Sitaram Kesari, the former supremo of AICC. In another case, Delhi Police, deliberately or otherwise, had not traced the murderer of the PA of Sibhu Soran, the leader of the Jharkhand movement. Later CBI had traced the clue to dig the remains of his body that was buried somewhere in Bihar. Therefore this case should be handed over to CBI to bring the accused on record for prosecution. I had come to know of another evidence regarding this case when I saw the programme 'India's Most Wanted' produced by Suhaib Ilyasi in 1998. In this programme Ilyasi had produced two unknown persons stating that Rajinder Jain was given money by Chandra Swami and Rao to prevent him to depose in the Jain Commission. Both the witnesses went on to say that one day Jain was kidnapped at gun point by a man of Rao and Chandra Swamy and they had personal knowledge of the money which was given to him by them. Their faces were not shown on the screen. I appreciate Suhaib for his 'India's Most Wanted' because he had helped the police of several states by his own assessment of the case giving the picture of the wanted men. Many of them were apprehended due to his programme. He used to give the story in the form of a role of suspects enacted in the way that allegedly happened in real life. Zee TV had once telecasted the involvement of Rao and Chandra Swamy behind the murder of Rajinder Jain but his programme was not allowed to be telecast by Zee TV on the next scheduled date under the pressure of some high contacts of CS.

Chapter 5

Rejected Theories

With the starting of the Jain Commission's proceedings various theories were brought. One was the Kevin Mason story. One contemporaneous news report from the news agency PTI from its London Office appeared in *The Hindustan Times* dated 24 May, 1991, three days after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. According to this report, Mason, a resident of London, had claimed that he was an ex-air services personnel trained in the use of explosives and that he was offered 100,000 pounds to carry out the plan of assassination of RG. He claimed further that he did not accept the proposal because the amount offered was less than what he wanted. In the morning of 22 May, 1991, the above news was given to Ashok Tandon, the correspondent of PTI. Tandon was summoned by the commission and his statement was recorded. According to him, Kevin Mason had telephoned him in the morning on 22 May, 1991 at his office-cum-residence. He had no acquaintance with Mason prior to this telephone call. Mason informed him that he had sent a note to the Indian High Commission, London. Tandon also received a fax from Mason. Thereafter, he contacted Ratankar Rao, minister (coordination) in the Indian High Commission in London, who confirmed that Mason had spoken to him and also sent a note. The High Commission was checking

the antecedents of Kevin Mason. In between Tandon had sent the story through the news agency and it appeared in the newspaper. Tandon deposed that he did not meet Mason but he had asked him several questions on the telephone. Thereafter, the commission wrote to MHA requiring more information. Later the ministry of external affairs informed the commission that a meeting was arranged with Kevin Mason on 29 November, 1996. Others present in the meeting were Colin Nott, the lawyer of Mason, and Mithilesh Kumar, first secretary in the Indian High Commission, London along with David Johnson, an officer from the Scotland Yard. Mason denied that he had any knowledge regarding any plan or conspiracy behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. He even refused to accept that he had talked to Tandon or any officer of the Indian High Commission on telephone or sent a fax. Justice Jain observed that it was the responsibility of a senior journalist to verify the facts before releasing the same to press and that Tandon had acted prematurely in his zeal to give the story to the press. Tandon had taken the information at its face value and released it to the press as it related to a burning issue. After the denial by Kevin Mason, the story given by PTI, London appeared to be totally false. Therefore Justice Jain rejected the theory observing that the story did not deserve credence.

Another version was of the retired Director General of Police, Andhra Pradesh, MV Thomas. He issued a statement to *Rajasthan Patrika* and *The Hindustan* on 15 September, 1992 alleging that the plot to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi was hatched by KGB of the erstwhile USSR and that KGB had entrusted the responsibility to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi to Abu Nidal, the international terrorist, who got the job executed through the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The commission recorded the statement of Thomas and he deposed before the commission that the investigation conducted by SIT was incomplete. According to him, not only

LTTE but some congressmen as well as AIADMK were involved in the alleged plot.

He further stated that while attending the hearing of the commission, he felt that the truth was not coming out before the commission so he himself decided to go to Madras and make his own investigation. He named some of the persons whom he had questioned. According to his claim, he went to the residence of each person except Durai whom he met at Imperial Hotel in Madras. He noted in his personal diary what these persons had stated. He stated that his diaries were at Hyderabad and he did not bring his personal diary as he did not think it was necessary. But he stated that there were three parties to the assassination: the first was LTTE, second, K Ramamurthy and some other congressmen and third was Jayalalitha and AIADMK. According to him, K Ramamurthy had prepared the ground in such a manner that it would facilitate the assassination by LTTE. Jayalalitha and others saw to the cover-up of the crime. Jayalalitha and K Ramamurthy had issued statements immediately after the assassination that M Karunanidhi and the DMK were responsible for the murder. As it turned out, Thomas had filed his affidavit based on the investigation allegedly conducted by himself and also on an oracle.

Thomas was an IPS officer and had retired from the highest post of DGP. Therefore it was expected of him that he would not rely on any vision or oracle. The involvement of KGB behind the assassination of RG was based on his vision, and his vision even was that KGB had allotted rupees ten crore for everybody connected with the assassination. When he was questioned as to whether any action was possible on the basis of vision, Thomas stated that he could not say but it was not provided in the Evidence Act. He admitted that as DGP he would not have taken any action on the basis of a vision unless the vision was accompanied by some evidence. Regarding the SIT investigation as well, he had a vision that the investigation conducted by SIT was

not on proper lines and was incomplete. When he was questioned with regard to the expenses incurred by him in the investigation conducted, he deposed that he had incurred an expenditure of about Rs. 1 lakh. He had visited Madras and Sriperumbudur six or seven times and had also visited Tirunelveli and Bhopal. As to what investigation he had conducted when he visited these places to question the witnesses, the information, according to him, was in his personal diary. Whether what he had stated was true or not could only be corroborated from his personal diary, which had not been produced before the commission. Therefore Justice Jain rejected his theory observing that, in the light of his deposition, the version propounded by him was not credible because Thomas had not been able to substantiate what he had alleged in his affidavit.

Next theory was of Rajani Ranjan Sahu, member of Rajya Sabha. Sahu had written a letter to Justice Jain conveying to him what had transpired in a chat between him, Jitender Prasad, political secretary to Prime Minister Rao and earlier to Rajiv Gandhi, a journalist Rajiv Shukla and Subramanian Swamy over the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi on 29 May, 1994 while all were sitting in the drawing room of the governor's house, Bangalore. According to his letter, Subramanian Swamy had said that Parbhakaran by nature could not have taken up such a job out of animosity or otherwise except for money, and the amount might have been in hundreds of crores of rupees. He further said that Subramanian Swamy had also confessed that the intelligence agencies had warned the government of a possible plot of assassination but the then director of IB had not informed the government. During the talk Subramanian Swamy had revealed that he also used to call meetings of the Joint Intelligence Committee including RAW and other agencies on the issue of assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. One more thing which Subramanian Swamy revealed was that the First Secretary of the American Embassy W Anderson was known

to be anti-Rajiv Gandhi and was in constant touch with the bosses of then government.

Subramanian Swamy denied the above vide his affidavit No. 307/95-JCI dated 4 May, 1995. Whether Sahu had overheard him and twisted what he had said at the behest of some people or for some other reason was to be determined in the cross-examination. Sahu deposed before the commission that he had gone to Bangalore in connection with the marriage of the son of Jayant Malhotra, member of Parliament, on 29 May, 1994, where he, Jitender Prasad and Rajiv Shukla had gone to meet the Governor of Karnataka, Khurshid Alam. They were waiting for the governor in his drawing room when Subramanian Swamy had entered the room and sat on the sofa. He revealed how Prabhakaran, after entering into deal, had ordered the assassination but it was not revealed by him who were behind Prabhakaran. Sahu further stated that Subramanian Swamy had told him regarding the possibility of there being a foreign hand in Rajiv's killing. About W. Anderson he revealed that he had written a book against Rajiv Gandhi and he had good relations with the then government. He also refuted the allegation made against him by Subramanian Swamy in his affidavit. Jitender Prasad was also summoned by the commission and he said that Subramanian Swamy had told the story mentioning a possibility and that it was not a revelation.

Rajiv Shukla, a columnist of the weekly magazine *Sunday*, had written a story in the magazine dated 2-8 April, 1995 under the head *Seshan and Swamy* in which he suggested that Justice Jain should also enquire into the letter written by Ranjan Sahu. Later he deposed before the commission and said that it was in the nature of expression of doubt by Subramanian Swamy. The possibility of financing might have been there, but mere possibility was not evidence. It could not be ascertained on the basis of testimony of the witnesses examined in this regard that Subramanian Swamy had any

definite information regarding any plot to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi or regarding any money deal. What was conveyed by him was his guess, speculation, conjecture or surmise, or he had entertained such a doubt in his mind which was conveyed by him during the informal talk. Justice Jain observed:

> It appears that it was all a casual talk which had taken place at the Governor's house between Dr Subramanian Swamy and the other three. If what has transpired on 29.5.1994 between all the four of them and if it has any bearing while taking conspectus of the view in relation to any conspiracy, this event can be taken into account but if examined independently, nothing would turn on it.
> Thus Justice Jain did not accept the theory.

One more story was narrated by Aparjit Bishwanath Basak, an inmate of Tihar Jail. He had sent certain papers to Advocate BL Wadhera. Thereupon Wadhera had had a telephonic conversation with him and later had gone to the jail to meet him. Basak had claimed to have a 15-page report regarding his story. Wadhera moved an application before the commission on 29 July, 1995 in which Justice Jain had sought the information in the form of an affidavit from Basak or a written and signed information from the jail.

He sent a handwritten application accompanied by an unsworn affidavit dated 20 August, 1995. He was making an allegation against the intelligence agencies. Basak wrote to the commission again on 26 February, 1996 alleging that the conspiracy was the handiwork of American undercover agents through the National Security Agency (NSA). According to Basak, the PLO Chief Yasser Arafat and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak were aware of the diabolical plot to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi. He claimed that he was then under the aegis of MI-5 to keep an eye on the movements of LTTE and was assigned the job by the Organisational Chief Stella Remington after MI-5 had

intercepted certain messages between the LTTE international secretariat in London and its Paris office. The officials of NSA, Fort Meade, Maryland, Virginia sold out the master game plan through its IRA's counter-insurgency agent. He further inter alia alleged that top secret informations were sent to the Indian counterparts in person to work on the project, that he had passed on alarming messages to Prime Minister Chander Shekhar way back in April 1991. But unfortunately the latter had turned a Nelson's eye to the sensitive issue. He wanted to be summoned so that he could testify what he had alleged in his application. Basak had not furnished any supporting evidence though he claimed that he had the proof in the form of video and audio cassettes, wireless messages, correspondence and file photographs.

Later Basak was summoned to appear before the commission and he deposed on three dates, i.e. 29 March, 12 April, and 13 May, 1996. He stated that basically he was associated with British Counter Intelligence No. 6, which did not exist. It was obvious that he was on the pay-roll of MI-5. MI-5 was espionage and MI-6 was counter-espionage. Basak had been picked up from India and was offered a scholarship in 1988. He had gone to London for higher studies in structural engineering, where he was contacted by Joseph Allenwood, director (special operation No. 13) dealing with anti-terrorism. He was told to meet Sophia Remington, daugther of Stella Remington, chief of MI-5. Sophia Remington gave him the assignment of tracking LTTE outside Great Britain. He was flown to Colombo on a tourist visa. In Colombo he contacted Arumugham, a Sri Lankan Tamil. Then he came in contact with field operators. The police there became suspicious and he flew back to London via India. Between July 1989 and April 1990, he was tracking down the interaction between the LTTE's international secretariat and Paris office. Some LTTE messages were intercepted in May 1990 which indicated that it had become suspicious of his identity. Basak had promised LTTE that he

would get them IRBMs (Harpoon missiles) through DST French counter espionage. LTTE was sure that it would be done. He had been in touch with Lawrence Tilakar in Paris and Anton Balasingham's wife in London and Paris. Coded messages in Tamil from the international secretariat of LTTE in London to Paris were intercepted. One of the messages intercepted was to the effect that LTTE was going to assassinate a named political personality in India. As a result, some LTTE cadres were picked up in London for questioning. Mary Anne Hobbs (an Irish national) was picked up by SO-13. Her name was already on the IRA list. She was cross examined by MI-5. Basak was associated with the cross-examination. Charlie Parsons, the director of Western Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, had met Mary Anne Hobbs who later fled from London when the metropolitan police was about to nab her. One Helen Wing Ha Choy of NSA (USA) under the direction of Basak had somehow secured a diary which contained the details of the suicidal bomb attack. A diagram in the diary exposed the entire operation, including tapping of the bomb round the body. Basak stated that he had a photocopy of the diary and that he would produce the same. MI-5 had decoded the diary which revealed that the bombing operation was to be in southern India. Basak had explained the entire layout of the operation programme. The original diary came in his hands on 16-17 July, 1990 and was then with MI-5. He had a photocopy of the decoded diary which he had kept with someone known to him. There was a diagram of a human bomb with seven rings which were later revealed to be seven security rings. It was believed that the target of the suicidal attack would be Rajiv Gandhi. Authorities started transmitting SOS report messages to the Indian government. India House was informed in London. MI-5 did not clearly name the target as Rajiv Gandhi but it was clearly mentioned that it would be the former prime minister and that the operative would be LTTE. In April 1991 MI-5 had also officially informed the

prime minister's house and Basak had addressed a letter by name to the then Prime Minister Chander Shekhar. Interpol published this information in the report that the ex-prime minister of India Rajiv Gandhi would be assassinated by LTTE. According to Basak, the Second Secretary in the British High Commission, New Delhi, Philip Martin, had all these copies. He also claimed that he had received a personal letter from Stephen Lender, the then chief of MI-5, and claimed that Stella Remington would meet the chairman, JCI. Later he narrated another story that Chander Shekhar, the former prime minister, had sent a personal message advising him to *keep mum*. Later Basak stated he had no document to produce regarding the main story which he had narrated earlier.

Amit Verma, advisor (security) to the commission conducted an investigation and Basak was examined by him. His statement given to Amit Verma does not advance the matter further in any way. He did not give the address of the London and Paris offices of LTTE, but he stated yet another story this time. Amit Verma gathered the information which revealed that Stella Remington was not the chief of MI-5 during 1989-90 and there were no persons by the name Joseph Allenwood, Marry Anne Hobbes and Philip Martin. Basak had always come forward with a new story in his fresh deposition. The narration of the story by him at the first sight seemed to be true but, in the absence of any substantiating evidence, the story was found to be concocted. Basak had been tried in several cases and was undergoing sentence. Justice Jain observed that bald testimony in the absence of any material and documentary evidence which he stated to be in existence could not be believed and deserved to be outrightly discarded. Hence, the story narrated by Basak was like the story of a movie or a novel.

One more version was of the book *Seshan — An Intimate Story* written by Govindan Kutty, TN Seshan, who was once the security secretary to Rajiv Gandhi and then the

chief election commissioner, had met Subramanian Swamy and told him that a foreign agency was involved in the murder of Rajiv Gandhi, and later he had met Prime Minister Chander Shekhar and told him of his suspicion regarding the involvement of a foreign power. Vir Sanghvi, the editor of *Sunday* Magazine, had authored an article dated 30 October, 1994 with the title *Who Killed Rajiv Gandhi*? He also wrote that Seshan, who was one time the security secretary, thinks it was an international conspiracy and he "never shirked from being called the conscience of India." He had always prided himself on his out-spokenness. So now, it is time for him to come clean. He must tell us who he thinks killed Rajiv and why.

He also made a mention of the story given by Raj Mangal Pandey, aide of Chander Shekhar when he was the prime minister. Sanghvi was told by the aide that Shekhar was extremely perturbed because a very senior civil servant who had once been involved in handling Rajiv's security had come to see him. The senior civil servant had told Shekhar that he had reason to believe that Rajiv's murder was the consequence of an international conspiracy. Further, he said that a minister in Shekhar's government had some involvement with those who had ordered the murder. This story was heard by him in the summer of 1991 and it came back to haunt him when he read Kutty's book. On page 163 in a chapter titled *Wages of Postponement*, Kutty had stated:

> When Subramanian Swamy left, he struck a particular note of warning to Seshan. If Seshan's fears and suspicions were true, he would do well to remember that he could also be logically in danger if he voiced those suspicions publicly.
>
> Even before Rajiv Gandhi's body was cremated, suspicions were rife in political and police circles about the motives behind his assassination. The LTTE connection was soon established — but was the Sri Lankan group the sole and only killer? Or was it only an instrumentality? Could it be that some other persons and/or agencies were using

> it as a tool to do away with Rajiv Gandhi? How deep and pervasive was the conspiracy? These are the questions to which answers are still being sought by a judicial commission.
>
> These are questions which began to be heard those days. Seshan never dismissed them outright. He was once Rajiv Gandhi's security secretary. He had reason to suspect that foreign agencies could also be involved in the assassination. When he mentioned it to Subramanian Swamy in good faith, his old teacher was possessed by anger. What he blurted out as he slammed the doors behind him sounded like a warning to Seshan.

Those who killed Rajiv Gandhi had done a thorough job. Seshan recalled it all, relating it the bits and pieces of information he had acquired, when he called on Prime Minister Chander Shekhar. Shekhar was stunned by Seshan's suspicions.

> A day later Swamy was back. He renewed his warning to Seshan and drove away. Swamy's old student was left with a hundred questions slithering through his mind in search of an answer.

Singhvi also wrote that:

> The time had come to end all the secrecy surrounding Rajiv's assassination and the people of India had a right to know the truth.

The commission issued summons to Vir Sanghvi, Govindan Kutty, TN Seshan, Chander Shekhar and Subramanian Swamy to find out the truth. Sanghvi deposed that Raj Mangal Pandey, secreatry to Chander Shekhar, had told him just after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi that a high official had come to see the prime minister and alleged that one cabinet minister should be investigated in the case of Rajiv's killing. Sanghvi claimed to forget this conversation until he read Kutty's book. He suggested that Seshan was the high

official who had visited Chander Shekhar and told him about the alleged conspiracy. After the publication of the book, the story came back to Sanghvi. TN Seshan deposed that he had not given the names of known specific foreign agencies to Kutty and he had not discussed about any specific agency with Subramanian Swamy. But he admitted the correctness of the statement made on page 164 that when he had mentioned the involvement of a foreign hand to Subranmanian Swamy in good faith, his old teacher was possessed by anger. Justice Jain observed that TN Seshan was not making a truthful statement and he was not disclosing his mind. Seshan had denied that he had the name of Israeli agency MOSSAD in his mind when he went to Chander Shekhar and SS, and added that several agencies were in his mind. Therefore Justice Jain further observed that it was unbelievable and ununderstandable that a senior civil servant of his stature would have thought of all foreign agencies operating in the world. Interestingly Seshan admitted that Subramanian Swamy got up and warned him that if his supicions were true, he could also be in danger.

Seshan and the writer of his biography Kutty both gave contradictory statements. Kutty had been changing his stance as to whether any queries were made by him on the information given to him of the facts by Seshan. He admitted to have met Seshan a day earlier to his deposition and he had also met him after the service of first summons to him by the commission. The commission believed that Kutty did not state the truth due to his discussion with Seshan and contradicted himself at different stages of his own testimony relating to several questions which remained unanswered, that his testimony did not inspire confidence and did not appear to be truthful. It might have been as a result of Kutty's meeting with Seshan before his deposition that he had not come out truthfully as to what transpired between him and Seshan.

Subramanian Swamy deposed that Seshan had told him that the Israeli intelligence outfit MOSSAD was the real master-mind behind LTTE. Prime Minister Chander Shekhar had joked about it saying, *kya tumhara Seshan pagal ho gyaa hai* (has your Seshan become mad). Chander Shekhar also stated on oath that Seshan had told him that there might be a foreign hand in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, but he denied he was ever stunned. He refused to disclose the name of the specific foreign agency because of his foreign relations. Justice Jain found the theory of involvement of foreign agency to be incredible in the material aspects. He observed, "such is the conscience of India, and I close the subject of involvement of foreign agency as finds mention in the book here." He further opined that the "suspicion of Vir Sanghvi regarding the involvement of a minister in Chander Shekhar government was not supported by any evidence and so it was not established."

I feel that TN Seshan did not speak the truth in his deposition due to fear.

Some more stories were floated regarding the involvement of some Congressman. Athirai alias Sonia in her petition dated 7 July, 1992 before the Madras High Court had alleged that the conspiracy to kill Rajiv Gandhi was hatched by Congress leaders. She claimed that Sivrasan had told her on 7 May, 1991 that Rajiv Gandhi might come to Madras on 15 May. Sivrasan had told her that he was given a job by one Kalyan Raman, the manager of AICC. She also said that Sivrasan had told her on 22 May, 1991 that he had executed the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi with the help of Dhanu at the instance of Kalyan Raman who had given him a lot of money. After sometimes, Sivrasan told her to go to Delhi and meet Kalyan Raman who will give her the passport to enable her to flee from India. Aathirai was also an accused in Rajiv Gandhi case. Justice S Janarthanam also said dismissing her petition that it appeared that the story was concocted since she was an accused in the assassination case.

The commission sought clarification from AICC regarding Kalyan Raman but Ahmed Patel, the treasurer of AICC, filed an affidavit and stated that, no person by the name Kalyan Raman had ever worked in any capacity in the AICC office and there had never been the post of a manager in AICC. Therefore Justice Jain rejected the story of Aathirai as propounded by her because he felt that it appeared to be concocted.

S Kumudavalli, general secretary of the District Mahila Congress of South Chinglepet, Tamil Nadu, also claimed that Latha Priyakumar, who was contesting the Assembly election from Alambakkam constituency in Tamil Nadu, arrived at the rally site where RG was assassinated along with one lady wearing a green saree and a girl wearing white pant and shirt. Latha Priyakumar got down from the front door of the car in which they had come and the other two got down from the rear. Later she come to know their names as Latha Kannan and Kokila from newspaper photographs. Kumudavalli claimed to have heard the lady (Latha Kannan) coming with Latha Priyakumar talking to the lady (Dhanu) with a garland in her hands and telling her that she had come after finishing the election campaign at Arakonam. From the way they talked, she concluded that they knew each other. Two ladies (Nalini and Suba), one wearing blue saree and the other wearing rose coloured saree having red impressions of flowers, went to the back side of the dais. She also claimed that there were two separate lines, one for the women and the other for men, waiting to greet RG. Latha Kannan and Kokila along with others surrounded Rajiv Gandhi. When Kokila was reciting a poem, there was already a hand gap and Dhanu forced her way into the gap so that she may garland Rajiv. Kumudavalli further stated that she had seen Dhanu extending her hands and thereafter she had heard a loud sound and had seen flames. She saw a figure in the flames which fell down — that was the body of Rajiv Gandhi. The version of Kumudavalli did not get corraboration from

the statement of others including Margatham Chandersekhar who was contesting from Sriperumbudur and her daughter Latha Priyakumar. Her statement was found to be untrue as there were overwhelming independent witnesses, which shows that Latha Kannan and Kokila had not come along with Latha Priyakumar in her car. The statement of Nallavar Chellam alone is sufficient to discredit the version of Kumudavalli. The story that Latha Kannan was interacting with Dhanu was also found false due to lack of corroborative evidence. Latha Kannan had come with her daughter to fulfil her daughter's ambition to recite a poem in praise of Rajiv Gandhi and she would not have put not only her life but also the life of her daughter in jeopardy. Thus, it would be far-fetched to impute any interaction with the assassin on the part of Latha Kannan by her conduct.

One story was floated by Subramanian Swamy. There was a press statement on 16 December, 1994 in *The Hindu* and *The Statesman* saying that:

> the Janata Party President Subramanian Swamy today demanded the resignation of the Union Minister of State for Personnel, Public Grievances and Pension, Margaret Alva for allegedly recommending a party ticket in the recent Karnataka Assembly elections to Aswathnarayana who had rented out his house in Bangalore to Sivarasan and Subha, key members of the LTTE gang which plotted the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's assassination.
> Despite the name being rejected by the Pradesh Congress Committee, it mysteriously reappearing in the PCC list that reached the party's high command in Delhi. The prime minister, however, had the good sense to cut it out, as Swamy claimed at a press conference.
> He said the Congress (I) MP from Karnataka had written to the prime minister opposing the nomination of a person who had rented out his house to LTTE militants. The commission should also probe the relationship between Mrs Margaret Alva and Aswathnarayana, he said.

The above statement made by Subramanian Swamy further exposes his claim that LTTE alone was responsible for the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. If he was of the firm opinion that there was no wider conspiracy behind the assassination, why had he blamed Aswathnarayana and Margaret Alva?

Alva had denied the allegation saying that it was misleading, vexatious, false and malicious. Aswathnarayana was summoned and he stated before the commission that the house belonged to his brother Anjanappa after the final decree for the partition. He had filed a suit for partition in the court of law and the court had passed the order of partition on 25 November, 1986. Therefore he stated that the accusations made against him were false and, in that connection, he had filed a criminal complaint against Subramanian Swamy. He came to know from newspapers that his brother Anjanappa rented out his house to one J Ranganath only after the death of Sivrasan. His statement is credible and therefore Justice Jain observed "It appears Dr Subramanian Swamy has gone to the press without in any way verifying the correctness of his reports to the press." On what basis he had made the statement to the press, in the press conference or otherwise, is not known. Again the conduct of Subramanian Swamy is exposed in his book and it appears on its face that he had a definite plan to accuse Margaret Alva and Aswathnarayana, and his motive could be to protect his own suspected roll in the murder of Rajiv by insinuating the involvement of the Congress.

These were several other theories which were probed by the Jain Commission but the commission did not find these credible due to lack of evidence.

Chapter 6

Role of Sikh Militants

Just before Chander Shekhar took over as the prime minister, Kailash Nath Aggarwal (alias Mamaji), a close associate and private secretary of Chandra Swamy, called me and asked whether I could support them as they wanted to win over the heart of Rajiv Gandhi. He told me that they had asked Jambuwant Rao Dhote for organising a rally at Rohtak in Haryana which would be addressed by Rajiv Gandhi and he would pass through all the villages on the road, stopping to accept the greetings of the villagers. They told me that they were persuading JR Dhote to write a letter to Rajiv Gandhi in this regard. I asked him what he would get from it. He told me that the rally at Rohtak would leave a deep impact on the farmer society as a whole and it would create a wave for the Congress in the forthcoming elections. He said that since I was from that belt and my native village Jakhodha was also on the roadside, a sizeable gathering could come to greet Rajiv Gandhi. He even told me that he would send his own men there to show more crowd and some of them will stay with me there. After some days, Dhote came to Delhi and he discussed the same thing with me, saying that it was a good opportunity for him to corner the support of Rajiv Gandhi for his political career. I did not tell him that I was already aware of it. I knew through KN Aggarwal that this

was the plan of Chandra Swamy. After that I went to see Rajinder Jain to ask why they wanted this rally to be held at Rohtak and take RG through every village despite the fact that he had the constant danger to his life from Sikh militants who had a larger influence in Haryana. It seemed very suspicious that, despite being anti-Rajiv, they wanted to organise a rally and were keen that RG himself addressed it. Rajinder Jain told me in confidence that Chandra Swamy wanted to get Rajiv Gandhi killed there because the Haryana government was of his disciple Om Prakash Chautala's party. Jain further said that they wanted Chander Shekhar to continue as the prime minister and it was not possible till Rajiv Gandhi was alive. Dhote had a draft letter in his hand which was to be sent by him to Rajiv Gandhi. I went through the contents of the letter and I refused him my support without saying anything about the plan which was revealed to me by Rajinder Jain because I was scared for my life. A copy of this letter dated 20 November, 1990 without his signatures is still with me.[22] This incident was just after the formation of government by Chander Shekhar, but the idea was mooted when the issue of toppling the government of VP Singh was in air and Subramanian Swamy had gone abroad. I even knew that they had not disclosed their plan to Dhote because he was in political wilderness and they had a definite idea how to use him. I knew that Dhote's character was not like this. If he had come to know of their plan, he would have denied to organise the proposed rally. I also did not reveal anything to him because I never used to discuss anything about CS. I had a long association with Dhote and we interacted on several issues, but from the beginning he was not ready to listen to anything against Chandra Swamy. Dhote did not know my contact with CS for a long time. He had come to know of my relations with Chandra Swamy suddenly when one day he had gone to see Chandra Swamy at his *ashram* where he was denied a meeting with the godman on the pretext that the latter was not well. But I had

met Chandra Swamy half an hour before. Unknowingly the word slipped from my mouth that they had told him a lie as Chandra Swamy was quite well. On that day, he came to know of my relations with Chandra Swamy. It was in April, 1991. Even Chandra Swamy did not want to disclose my relations with him to Dhote. Now it is up to Dhote to come forward with the truth regarding this letter, copy of which I have without his signature. I agree that they had not told Dhote regarding their plot to kill RG. The proposed rally could not be held because I did not cooperate with them. Even Chandra Swamy continued to ask my help to organise this rally till the elections were declared. Incidently, this rally was to be financed by Chandra Swamy.

From December 1990 to May 1991, I had gathered bits and pieces of information from Rajinder Jain. One day Chandra Swamy had even spoken to OP Chautala that he wanted Haryana Police to be deployed at some place. I did not know as to whether Haryana Police was to be deployed at 10 Janpath or 24 Akbar Road for surveillance on Rajiv Gandhi. It may be that he had asked to deploy Haryana Police security either at 10 Janpath or some other place because Chandra Swamy and Chautala had also provided Haryana Police for the security of Romesh Sharma who was later arrested in 1998 for anti-national activities and is still behind bars. But Rajinder Jain had told me in January 1991 that Chandra Swamy had deployed Haryana Police to know the weak points in the security of Rajiv Gandhi at 10 Janpath.

The plan of Chandra Swamy was to eliminate Rajiv Gandhi either in Haryana or Delhi or nearby through Khalistani terrorists of Jagjit Singh Chauhan. Rajinder Jain later also revealed to me that the surveillance episode by Haryana Police was definitely related to the conspiracy to kill Rajiv Gandhi. This surveillance came to be known on 2 March, 1991 at about 4 p.m. when a check was made in the canteen at the AICC office at 24 Akbar Road. Two persons who were supposed to be visiting the place regularly

were checked and found to be head constable Prem Singh, belt no. 3/18, CID Narnaul, District Mohindergarh, and Raj Singh, constable, belt no. 4/3, CID, District Rohtak, who were deputed by Inspector Amir Singh Rana, posted at Nabha House as per the report of the home secretary dated 4 March, 1991.[23] The incident of surveillance was reported to be the wider conspiracy between Khalistani leader and OP Chautala as was reported in the weekly *Sunday Observer* under the caption *Rajiv ji ki jasoosi ke peechhe thhi gahri sajish* (There was a deep conspiracy behind the surveillance on Rajiv Gandhi). On the basis of this report, the superintendent of police (training and security branch) of intelligence department of UP had written to KN Thakur, joint director, IB, New Delhi. The fact of surveillance was considered to be very serious. Even head constable Prem Singh admitted that he was on duty near 24 Akbar Road. It had come to the notice of Delhi Police security personnel who had informed Arun Kampani, the ACP (security), Delhi Police on 21/22 February, 1991 and the latter had suggested to them that the next time when these persons were seen, they should be apprehended. When the surveillance was found, Chandra Swamy had left Delhi one day prior to it, on 1 March, by flight BA-020 followed by OP Chautala on 2 March by flight AI-131, and both returned to Delhi by flight AI-128 on 9 March. Jain Commission had observed this on page 173 vide para 4.6.15 of vol. II of the Final Report:

> The purpose of their visit has not come on record and there was no report with the commission as to whether they had met at London and with what object in view. Both of them left the country on 1st and 2nd March, 1991. The surveillance was detected on 2-3-1991 although it was continuing for the last about ten days. Both Shri Chandra Swamy and OP Chautala were in India before the detection of surveillance. As already stated, this must have been at the instance of political leadership. This has not come on record. The question

> of surveillance appears to be linked with the security of Rajiv Gandhi.

Justice Jain also observed:

> The question of surveillance also becomes significant in the context of the statement of Mahant Sewa Dass Singh. What was told by Dr Jagjit Singh Chauhan to him in the context of surveillance becomes relevant and this circumstance also become relevant when there existed the relation between Shri Chandra Swamy and Shri OP Chautala.

Subramanian Swamy had deposed on 20 March, 1995 that the surveillance by Haryana Police had aggravated and agitated Rajiv Gandhi very much. The surveillance was the last straw on the camel's back in the relations between Chander Shekhar and Rajiv Gandhi. Their relations were deteriorating and the surveillance further triggered the same. I had deposed that I was also told by Chandra Swamy regarding the deployment of Haryana Police by Chautala on his instance for helping LTTE and Sikh militants. They had started to execute their plan to get Rajiv Gandhi killed by LTTE because in Haryana and Delhi they were not going to be successful to get the same done by Khalistani militants. I had a talk with Chandra Swamy regarding this in August 1991 after he had returned from abroad. It was also found that the statement recorded by Delhi Police of two Haryana personnel gives a different version. This theory is also supported by the testimony of Mahant Sewa Dass Singh, president of Shaheed Pheruman Akali Dal, who had deposed before the commission that the conspiracy to kill Rajiv Gandhi was hatched by Jagjit Singh Chauhan and other terrorist groups. Mahant had gone to London to meet Chauhan as an emissary of Prime Minister Chander Shekhar on 26 December, 1990 and had met him at his residence 64, Western Court in Central London, where the office of Khalistan was also located. The purpose of the visit of Mahant

was to stop the violence in Punjab and to find a solution of the Punjab problem through Chauhan. Chauhan took him to Khalistan House Headquarters in *Tehkhana*, where communication system/gadgets were installed for having communication with Afghanistan, Pakistan and other countries. Chauhan had introduced him to the people of Babbar Khalsa, Khalistan Commando Force, Tamil LTTE and JKLF. There were two *sardars* and the rest were clean-shaven, but the total number of people were ten or twelve. He had persuaded Chauhan to stop the demand for Khalistan by saying that bloodshed of the innocent was contrary to the tenets of Sikhism and that there would also be considerable bloodshed of the Sikh community like it happened in 1984 after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Chauhan had indicated his plan that Chander Shekhar would continue as the prime minister. When Mahant wished to know how, he said that they had held meetings in Delhi and Bombay and Sardar Talwinder Singh Parmar, who was present there, had visited India off and on. They would eliminate Rajiv Gandhi to make the Congress leaderless and then Chander Shekhar would be acceptable to the Congress. He further told him that they were not alone and there were others with them. Chauhan further claimed that Haryana people and others would be available to do that job. Sardar Talwinder Singh Parmar intervened and said, that *Rajiv to gayya* (Rajiv will go). Mahant wanted to know the plan, but they did not disclose the plan except for saying that the idea was to kill Rajiv Gandhi at Parliament House Annexe in New Delhi. Chauhan had also given the name of his financier in the plan as the holy godman Chandra Swamy. This theory of Mahant was corroborated by Ratnakar Pandey, a close aide of Rajiv Gandhi, Ashwani Kumar Chopra, the owner and editor of *Punjab Kesari*, Swatantar Sheel, and V George, political secretary to Rajiv Gandhi. Chander Shekhar also admitted that Mahant Sewa Dass had visited London.

Mahant had informed Ratnakar Pandey in the first week of January about this plot and he also told Rajiv Gandhi on 10 February in the Parliament House. Mahant also claimed to have conveyed this to Chander Shekhar, the prime minister, on 3 January 1991, but the latter had not taken it seriously. Jagjit Singh Chauhan denied this allegation in a news item given to PTI which appeared in the *Asian Age*, dated 7 June, 1995 but, according to Mahant, Chandra Swamy was behind the denial made by Chauhan. Mahant had submitted his photograph with Chauhan before the commission and a photocopy of two letters which were written by Chauhan to Ashwani Kumar of *Punjab Kesari* and Sardar Brijinder Singh of *Ajit*. Ratnakar Pandey had corroborated his statement. Swatantar Sheel had written the story in *Sunday Observer* on 24 March, 1991 on the basis of his conversation with Mahant Sewa Dass regarding the plot to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi. He had corroborated the statement of Mahant and said that he was told some more things by Mahant which he had not published. Mahant had also written a letter to Prime Minister Chander Shekhar on 23 April, 1991 regarding his London visit and threats to the life of RG before the assassination. He had written in his letter of 28 May, 1991 addressed to the President of India:

> The anti-India forces are diverting the attention from the killers by blaming the Tamils or LTTE. The LTTE has repeatedly denied that they have hand in the killing of Rajiv Gandhi. So, I request your goodself to ask the Government to direct their energies towards the real killers.

Mahant had also stated what appeared in *Pioneer* dated 19 June, 1995 that Rajiv Gandhi was not killed by a human bomb but by a remote-controlled device planted after a joint operation conducted by LTTE along with top leaders of Khalistan Commando Force, Manohar Singh Dhira and Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala, and he went on to say:

> The theory about the human bomb is all nonsense. Jagjit Singh Chauhan himself told me this when I spoke to him on telephone after the assassination.

Justice Jain observes on page 112, vol. II "This statement of Mahant Sewa Dass also damages his testimony regarding his knowledge of involvement of LTTE." Justice Jain further observes in para 3.71 of page 122:

> The evidence of Mahant Sewa Dass Singh has been found to be partially credible as discussed above. His testimony has not been believed regarding presence of LTTE representative in the meeting at Khalistan House. Even if the testimony of Mahant Sewa Dass Singh is taken at its face, still I feel that there is a gap and link is still missing to establish that the militant groups along with LTTE acted in concert. Merely deciding that Rajiv Gandhi is to be physically liquidated does not advance the case further unless the subsequent actions of implementation and execution are brought to light.

During the examination of Chandra Swamy and Subramanian Swamy, both had given different versions regarding their London visit in June/July, 1995. During the examination of Chandra Swamy by RN Mittal, counsel for the AICC (I), on 25 October, 1995 it was suggested that their attempt was that Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan may become an approver and then be made to depose before the commission. But, this suggestion was denied. Therefore, Justice Jain observed:

> In view of the contradictory statement of the two, it remains a mystery for what purpose and object both of them visited London and it can be said that the suggestion given by Shri RN Mittal to Shri Chandra Swamy may be true.

Justice Jain observes on page 112, vide para 3.48:

> This question, no doubt, may arise as to whether there was any link of LTTE with Khalistani militant groups who might be targeting Rajiv Gandhi independently or they might have also joined some other terrorist outfit who might also be aiming to target the same person.

I had stated during my cross-examination that Chandra Swamy had link with both Sikh terrorists and LTTE, and the assignment to kill Rajiv Gandhi was given to both for different places. Chandra Swamy had also told me that he was the guru of Jagjit Singh Chauhan. If we consider the story of Mahant along with my evidence, a clear picture emerges that LTTE and Sikh militants both were involved in the joint operation at different places through Chandra Swamy. It becomes more relevant to consider that LTTE and Sikh militants both were being operated via London, their international headquarters. The LTTE chief in London was Kittu and the Khalistan leader was Chauhan. The missing link and gap which were observed by Justice Jain are filling now. The letter to Rajiv Gandhi by Dhote is another evidence to fill this gap. That Chandra Swamy wanted to send Rajiv Gandhi to address a Rohtak rally passing through all the villages on the roadside, stopping and receiving their greetings, clearly suggests that the motive was to get Rajiv Gandhi killed in Haryana with the help of Sikh militants. Even if Dhote claims that his object was only political, there are other reasons to suspect why Chandra Swamy was taking Rajiv to Rohtak instead of Maharashtra, the home state of Dhote. Justice Jain may be partly right in observing the statement of Mahant that according to his mind, the Sikh militants had killed Rajiv Gandhi instead of LTTE, but the story of Mahant cannot be rejected on this ground because he had stated what he did on the basis of his telephonic conversation with Chauhan before writing his letter to the president on 28 May, 1991. A few days later, I asked Mahant regarding the above letter. He told me that this letter was written by him after his telephonic conversation with

Chauhan in London on 22 May, 1991 from Punjab Bhawan in Delhi. During their conversation, Chauhan told him about his role in RG's assassination and said that he had got him killed. Therefore the testimony of Mahant cannot be disbelieved considering the fact that he had written to the president of India to probe the role of Sikh militants instead of LTTE. Mahant had written only on the basis of Chauhan's revelation just after one or two days of the assassination. It would mean that LTTE and Khalistan militants had co-ordination and it was a joint conspiracy which was executed by LTTE. This was the reason that Chauhan had issued disinformation to Mahant purposely to divert the attention of the investigating agency towards Sikh militants to cover up the conspiracy and to protect LTTE. The deposition of Mahant becomes more relevant in the light of evidence that LTTE had the backing of Khalistani leader Chauhan. MDMA should take evidence of STD telephone bill of 22 May, 1991 regarding the conversation of Mahant and Chauhan from Punjab Bhawan as revealed by Mahant to me. The confirmation of this bill would be a strong evidence to establish the link between LTTE and Khalistani terrorists in the wider conspiracy. Further, his view published in *Pioneer* regarding the killing of Rajiv Gandhi by remote control device instead of human bomb is also based on his conversation with Chauhan. It is noteworthy that in the same news he stated that this was a joint operation of LTTE and Khalistan Commando Force. After going deeply through all the above, one can gather that, definitely, it was the joint operation of LTTE and Khalistani militants and Chauhan had given wrong information to Mahant to divert the attention of investigation agency from LTTE to Khalistani militants purposely to protect LTTE. This link gets further support from a top secret letter which was addressed to the home ministry dated 7 July, 1991 by someone in code name stating that, due to wearing of *salwar kameez* by the human bomb and due to several other reasons, there was a possibility of involvement of Sikh

terrorists and therefore SIT was requested to look into the activities of SLF of UK. The copy of this letter was also sent to Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao. The Jain Commission report observes on page 118, vide para 3.60:

> Another important circumstance in connection with the link between Khalistani extremists and LTTE is the press release of 22nd May, 1991 which was received by the daily *Ajit* (Jalandhar-based newspaper) on that very date and in respect of which information was sent by Joint Director, SIB, Chandigarh to the IB headquarters. It may be that this press release is pseudonymous not only with regard to the organisation from which it has emanated but even with regard to the individuals who have been named in it. Unless there is some link, it is inconceivable that such a claim would have been made in the press release that the assassination had been done in collaboration with the LTTE. It is quite possible that this may be with a view to mislead the investigation and instead of directing investigation towards the LTTE, it may take up investigation against the Khalistani extremists. But the question is how such a press release appeared on 22 May, 1991 claiming assassination by the terrorist group mentioned therein. The two terrorists groups mentioned therein are Tamil Guerrilla Force and the Khalistani militant group by the name Khalistan Guerrilla Force. The information contained therein regarding the method of blast with a satellite control system may also be incorrect and this information may also be incorrect that Chintamani Raman has been baptized Sikh by taking *amrit* at a gurudwara.

The commission report further reads:

> Without attaching any significance to these information, the very fact of the press release having been issued the same night involving the two different terrorist

> organisations becomes relevant and assumes importance from the point of view of establishing a link between the two, and therefore it is quite possible that they may have acted in concert on the basis of which the press release was issued.

Mahant also wrote to the president of India on 28 May, 1991 after the murder of Rajiv Gandhi requesting that the investigation should be towards the real killers, i.e. Sikh millitants. But, according to DR Karthikeyan, the credibility of the letter addressed to the president was lost when he tried to exonerate LTTE against whom overwhelming evidence was found. Jain Commission report has observed that the version of Mahant Sewa Dass is also corroborated by IB reports and, therefore, it cannot be said that he had any definite knowledge. "This must have transpired in the London meeting on the basis of which he made the statement before the Commission", the report further said. The IB Joint Director, KN Thakur, had written a letter to Director of SPG Devinder Singh, dated 3 January, 1990 carrying the information that the Sikhs would enact a bigger drama than the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the target could be Rajiv Gandhi and HKL Bhagat, the former union minister. There is another report by the joint director, SIB, Bombay, of 10 May, 1990 which states that there was a conspiracy to cause harm to Rajiv Gandhi inside the Parliament as he was least protected there. The statement of Mahant regarding Talvinder Singh Parmar's visit to India to discuss the conspiracy with some people is also corroborated by the RAW report which was delivered by the IB on 5 January, 1998 to the commission:

> Around November 1990,.... Talvinder Singh Parmar had reached Delhi and would become a *shaheed* after doing some "big work". In 1991, Parmar had been largely confining his movement in Punjab and Delhi. When in Delhi he was understood to be using a hide out established by the Babbar Khalsa somewhere in Noida.

The report further says:

> Our field inquiries confirmed this report, particularly his presence in Delhi in April, 1990, NOIDA intermittently during 1991 and his movement in Patiala, Chandigarh, Ropar and Delhi in 1991.

Mahant had also stated that Talvinder Singh Parmar was holding meetings in Delhi and Bombay, and in Bombay he had met several important persons, including Sharad Pawar, at Express Tower. The DIB UO No. 29 of 29 December, 1990 also states that Parmar, a leading Babbar Khalsa activist who had asserted that Rajiv Gandhi may not live behind 1990, was understood to have reached Delhi to carry out some big work and become a *shaheed*.

The IB memorandum of 18 February, 1991 addressed to Delhi Police further supports this theory which records that there was a thinking among the Khalistani militants that Rajiv Gandhi should not be allowed to come back as prime minister again at any cost. So these militants may make a desperate attempt on the life of Rajiv Gandhi in the next two or three weeks in furtherance of the above thinking. The LTTE relation with Sikh militants is again getting support from UO No. 4/1/87-VS dated 23 November, 1987[24] by the director, Cabinet Secretariat, in a report regarding the threat to the security of the prime minister from LTTE. Therefore Rajiv Gandhi was facing danger from both the militant groups at the same time. Apart from the threat reported by RAW from various sources, it also reports that some unidentified Sri Lankan Tamils in Oslo sympathetic to LTTE had come to notice for trying to establish contact with Sikh militants there. In a conversation with Sikh militants, they reportedly sought to blame the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi for the recent developments and suggested that the latter should be killed. Once RAW had reported that there were some reports in July 1998 indicating that JS Chauhan had tried to establish contact with LTTE in UK which was communicated to the

concerned agencies/departments vide UO No. 3/5/88-VS dated 21 July, '1988.[25] RAW report CGW/159 dated 24 March, 1988 was to the effect that during a meeting in late January 1988, Chauhan was reported to have informed Phizo that he would be holding discussion with the representatives of LTTE in London. Further another independent report suggested that during the same period, two persons claiming to be the representatives of LTTE in UK had met Chauhan and wanted to know Chauhan's position in the armed struggle and what he could contribute to such struggle. Chauhan was reported to have assured them that there were many issues common to Tamils of Sri Lanka and Sikhs of Punjab which could be discussed and a common policy evolved. He further added that he stood for a common policy for Sikhs, Tamils and Muslims. He also exchanged books. Chauhan had received a copy of the essay by AS Balasingam and he in turn had given a copy of *Sikhdom* written by Kripal Singh. It is commented that Chauhan had admitted to revive his leadership role for making common cause with the Tamils, Nagas, etc. in order to forge some kind of a link between the groups basically united in their opposition to the Government of India. There were also some reports suggesting the involvement of South African authorities to bring together Sikh extremists, Sri Lankan Tamils, Dalits and the anti-India elements in the Muslim community during the days of apartheid. In September 1998 a South African diplomat in London had contacted an associate of Chauhan and sought his assistance in consolidating the activities of the Sikhs, Tamils, Dalits and Muslims. This information was disseminated by DO letter No. 3/16/89-VS dated 4 May, 1989.[26] One information was conveyed vide UO No. 3/8/87-VS dated 25 April, 1988 by RAW that some Sikh youths in Southall, UK, had approached an LTTE representative in London for procurement of arms. The above intelligence reports emanating from RAW clearly make the picture that, after the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement,

both the militant outfits, LTTE and Khalistani, were interacting with each other and their common target was Rajiv Gandhi. Both the groups had the common motive to eliminate him because RG was the stumbling block in the realisation of their objective of creation of separate independent states. I am of the firm opinion that, apart from these two groups, other militant groups had also joined with them in this common intention to kill Rajiv Gandhi. It is evident from the Intelligence Bureau's monthly *Intelligence Digest No. 1/91* related to VIP security in which it is said, "On the other hand, ULFA was reported to have constituted suicide squads to attack Rajiv Gandhi, Hiteshwar Saikia and other Congress (I) leaders." This important report supports my above view. The human bomb is a part of the suicide squad and we can say that ULFA also had a plan to kill RG by a human bomb. In my opinion there was coordination between all the militant groups operating in India and they might have exchanged the idea of suicide-squad-cum-human-bomb with each other because, in the same intelligence report, it was also said that:

> Shri Rajiv Gandhi continues to face the most serious threat from Sikh extremists. Gurmeet Singh Gill, a Babbar Khalsa leader of UK, indicated that Sikh terrorists had been deputed from Punjab to New Delhi to make attempt on Rajiv Gandhi.

There are several reports from which it is evident that Rajiv Gandhi was facing threats from all the terrorist groups. The relation between them cannot be denied at any ground. If it was so, it could not have been possible without the help of some foreign agencies and powerful persons in India to coordinate with them from south to north and west to east passing through the capital. I had written a letter to Chandra Swamy dated 10 August, 1991 mentioning that he might be supplying arms and explosives to the militants. The legal notice which was sent by me to the home secretary in

February 1992 was also carrying my suspicion that Chandra Swamy might be behind the terrorism and that he was leaking our secrets to foreign powers. Therefore, in the light of the entire evidence, including my and Mahant's deposition, and Chandra Swamy's and Subramanian Swamy's attitude and behaviour before the commission to conceal the facts, gives colour to the above picture which emerges in the light of facts, circumstances and evidence.

Justice Jain is also of the same view which I expressed earlier. The importanr thing to note into which the learned Justice could not go is that the statement of Mahant in the *Pioneer* dated 19 June, 1995 is also similar to the press release of 22 May by Khalistani militants regarding the method of blast with a satellite control system. Mahant had expressed his view on the basis of his conversation with Chauhan in London. Therefore the statement issued on 22 May, 1991 also emanated from Chauhan through his man in Punjab. I am surprised as to why the attention of Justice Jain could not go towards the similarity of blast theory by satellite control. It may be very possible that in such type of probe, when the chairman goes through more than ten thousand papers, he could not note the similarity between the two. The similarity about the method of blast by satellite control makes it clear that the news of 22 May, 1991 also originated from Chauhan through his associates in Punjab. He had publicised that the assassination was executed by Sikh militants through satellite remote control to divert the attention of the investigating agency from LTTE. Further support to this theory is the CCB telegram of 11 September, 1991 by the Indian ambassador in Tunis on the information conveyed by President Yassar Arafat which also becomes relevant and significant. It was conveyed that:

> Mr. Yasser Arafat had information that Rajiv's enemies will use the election period to get rid of him. He got the information from his intelligence sources inside Israel and

> from his European sources. So far as information from Israel sources was concerned, he did not take it seriously although these sources mentioned that the LTTE or the Sikh extremists would try to harm Sh. Rajiv Gandhi. Beside the above two, hostile forces from outside India may also make an attempt. The European sources mentioned that Rajiv Gandhi would face trouble during the election and they would try to get rid of him.

Jain Commission report observed on page 119 vide para 3.63 of vol II:

> The information conveyed through this telegram no doubt nowhere states that there was any collaboration between the LTTE or Khalistan militants, but both have been named in the information emanating from Mr. Yasser Arafat and if this information is read along with Indian intelligence reports and the above press release, an inference may arise that both of them may have joined in targeting Sh. Rajiv Gandhi.

In the light of the above evidences the theory of Mahant Sewa Dass needs to be appreciated. Subramanian Swamy's criticism of Mahant is a well-planned conspiracy because there had been a sequence of conspiracies since 1982 when Rajiv Gandhi had joined politics. The denial by the suspected persons and the saga of disinformation will continue till the culprits are prosecuted. Although Subramanian Swamy has criticised Mahant by saying that he was a creation of Arjun Singh, yet he is completely silent on my theory which alone was accepted by the commission and for which the commission had appreciated me. Knowingly Subramanian Swamy did not refer to any part of my evidence because he knew that my evidence would lead to the logical end of the wider conspiracy behind the assassination. The commission recommended that Chandra Swamy's involvement as alleged by me needed to be probed further. Should the wider

conspiracy come to light, not only would the charges be framed against the accused, but there would be a base to award the sentence and send the accused to the prison. Subramanian Swamy's book is a crude attempt to shift the focus from the investigation that is underway and, if possible, to twist the facts and mislead MDMA.

Chapter 7

Involvement of Foreign Hand

The assassination of RG had its ramifications worldwide, affecting international affairs and international relations because he was dynamic leader of third world countries and he was certainly going to be the prime minister of India again. His killing was very similar to other conspiracies in the assassinations of national and international leaders. The assassination of some national leaders can be a local and national-level conspiracy, but RG's assassination was a much wider conspiracy at the national and international level. The conspiracies in the assassination of several national and international personalities remains still a mystery, e.g. Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi, LN Mishra, Deen Dayal Upadhaye, Partap Singh Kairon and Beant Singh, both serving chief ministers of Punjab, and Harcharan Singh Longowal, the leader of Akali Dal, two members of Parliament and trade union leaders Datta Samant of Bombay and Lalit Maken of Delhi, were also killed by a conspiracy in India. The mysteries in the assassinations of Liaquat Ali Khan, Zia-ul-Haq and Murtaza Bhutto of Pakistan, Anim Sang of Burma, SWRD Bhandarnaika, Ranasinghe Premadasa, Ranjan Wijayratne, Gemini Dissanayaka, Vijay Kumaratunga, Lalit Athulathmudali and Industry Minister CV Gooneratne of Sri Lanka are still waiting to be unfolded. After the second

world war, one after another, countries in South East Asia have suffered because of assassination of their leaders. The President of Egypt Anwar Sadat, Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme are other examples. American President John F Kennedy was assassinated 37 years back on 21 November, 1963 moving in an open car amidst a crowd of people. The conspiracy behind his assassination is still shrouded in mystery and the cloud of suspicion surrounding the assassination has not faded but intensified. The Warren Commission was set up to investigate the assassination of Kennedy. According to *Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-64* by historian Michael Beschloss, Johnson also said in 1964 that he did not believe the conclusion of the Warren Commission that Kennedy was killed by a lone gunner. According to him, former Senator Russell was a reluctant member of the commission which investigated the assassination and was pressurised into signing the report against his will. Russell is quoted as saying on one tape, "Well, I do not believe it". "I do not either," Johnson said. Therefore, the conspiracy behind Kennedy's assassination is still shrouded in mystery. Mujibur Rahman was killed in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on 15 August, 1975. After more than 22 years, the alleged killers were tried. The motive to assassinate a leader like Rajiv Gandhi can only be to destabilise the country by rendering the governance of the country weak and making it subservient to the dictates of the powers that be. The assassination was not only to disturb the peace of India but also the peace of the region. It was well planned and very smoothly done. There definitely was the involvement of a foreign hand as RG was emerging as the leader of the third-world countries and of the non-aligned movement. Indian political leaders who are pro-USA and Israel have changed their stand on the issue of Rajiv's assassination due to some fear or favour, or a deal. The latest example is Subramanian Swamy who has recently written a book claiming that LTTE alone had masterminded the killing of RG. He has blamed some persons who were expressing

their suspicion regarding involvement of foreign hand to be pro-LTTE. According to the Jain Commission, Subramanian Swamy concealed vital information regarding LTTE sources and he was observed as a non-reliable witness by the report of the commission. MDMA under CBI was constituted to probe the role of Subramanian Swamy as he was suspected along with Chandra Swamy. Subramanian Swamy published his book in defence of himself, Chandra Swamy, OP Chautala, PV Narasimha Rao, Chander Shekhar, MOSSAD and CIA. His motive behind the book seems to be to claim that no agency and foreign power was involved in the wider conspiracy. The book itself strengthens the suspicion of the involvement of foreign hand as well as some individual persons. If LTTE alone had killed RG, why had Subramanian Swamy filed his affidavit and given the statement before JCI alleging Jayalalitha's involvement in the wider conspiracy? Interestingly Subramanian Swamy appeared before JCI suspecting a conspiracy behind LTTE but he himself turned into a suspect person during his cross-examination by Ram Jethmalani, the counsel for Jayalalitha. Chandra Swami and Subramanian Swamy had given contradictory statements before JCI regarding their London visit in June-July 1995. On pages 125 and 126, para No. 3.75, volume II of the final report, it is reported that:

> In view of the contradictory statement of the two, it remains a mystery for what purpose and object both of them visited London and it can be said that the suggestion given by RN Mittal to Sri Chandra Swamy may be true.

During the cross-examination of Chandra Swamy, RN Mittal, counsel for AICC(I), had suggested to the witness on 25 October, 1995 that during their visit to London in June-July 1995, Subramanian Swamy and Chandra Swamy had tried to persuade Jagjit Singh Chauhan to become an approver and depose before the commission. Chandra Swamy had denied it. The final report of JCI, on page 217

of volume VIII, observes that Subramanian Swamy, right from the very beginning, had been resisting to disclose source of information. The report further records on page 221:

> Reading the statement of Subramanian Swamy in this regard as a whole, about receiving of the information by him through informants and intermediaries anywhere, does not inspire confidence at all and has further been rendered incredible when he does not disclose the names of the informants or the names of the intermediaries and he prevaricates on the mode of communication.

Justice Jain again observes on page 222 that Subramanian Swamy therefore cannot be believed when he changes his version and is indefinite and, more particularly, when he does not support his version by any corroborative evidence. This observation has been substantiated after the publication of his book on the assassination of RG. Why is Subramanian Swamy saying that the involvement of CIA, MOSSAD and Chandra Swamy is spread by Arjun Singh for protecting LTTE? What is his motive? I suspect that he is playing in the hands of CIA, MOSSAD and Chandra Swamy. He is known to change his version and political association like a chameleon changes colours. After publishing his book, a statement was issued by him claiming that he had received an invitation from Israel for attending a function there as he was considered a lone friend of Israel in India. Recently CS sought permission from the Supreme Court to go to Tel Aviv, Israel. This indicates that both are pro-Israel and pro-MOSSAD, the intelligence agency of Israel. It is known worldwide that MOSSAD and CIA have a deep nexus and that both exchange information with each other off and on.

Subramanian Swamy's relation with USA is very old. I am of the opinion that Subramanian Swamy was asked to write this book by Chandra Swamy, MOSSAD and CIA. Earlier he had stated during his deposition before the JCI, "I cannot rule out motivating or financing aspects of

intelligence agencies like CIA, MOSSAD and KGB." He further deposed:

> As stated by me in my deposition on 20 March, 1995, because of the nationalist outlook of Rajiv Gandhi, many countries were apprehensive that he would make India a great power by 2000 AD.

In answer to a question whether US/CIA came to his mind he answered that US, USSR, Pakistan, China and some associated countries would be angry, but when he was referred to his statement dated 6 July, 1995 where he had stated about the involvement of CIA, he answered that whatever he had stated on that date was correct.

Subramanian Swamy first alleged Jayalalitha's involvement and filed a PIL in the court of Tamil Nadu appealing to prosecute Jayalalitha for her offences of financial bungling but after sometime he joined a joint political front with AIDMK headed by Jayalalitha during the Lok Sabha elections of 1998. After the elections, he persuaded her to insist that he be made the finance minister in the Vajpayee government. He started to speak against BJP and RSS when he was not inducted in the cabinet. Surprisingly V Ramamurthy, the lone MP and President of Tamil Jhagha Rajiv Congress and a small ally of AIDMK, got a berth in the cabinet. Thereafter Subramanian Swamy started to play an active role for the downfall of BJP government. After the fall of BJP government, AIDMK had broken its relation with him and he got defeated in Lok Sabha election of 1999. After forfeiting his election deposit he disappeared from the political arena and now he is looking for his entry into the Congress claiming that RG had asked him to join the Congress before the elections of 1991. Whenever he met Sonia Gandhi, he issued a statement to show that he was meeting Sonia Gandhi very frequently. This time his claim is different when he says that Sonia Gandhi disapproved the ATR along with the finding of the Jain Commission. His character for changing

his stand and mind very often further gets support from the observation of the JCI. The commission observed on page 231 of volume VIII:

> From the tenor of the statement of Dr. Subramanian Swamy, it would appear that a consistent and persistent effort is there on his part not to answer the question which are most relevant in order to find out the truth or otherwise of the statement which he has made.

Justice Jain had intended to take legal action against SS for his offence of giving fake evidence, concealing facts and refusing to answer questions. SS became liable to be prosecuted under the provisions of section 179, IPC in view of the applicability of sub-section 4 of section 5 of the Commission of Inquiry Act. "He can be proceeded against for the offence under section 193, IPC," observes Justice Jain. Such a double-talker political leader cannot fit in the ideological aspect of Congress once led by Jawaharlal Nehru, his daughter Indira Gandhi and later by Rajiv Gandhi, but SS wants his entry in the Congress fold.

Subramanian Swamy exposed himself when he deposed before the commission on 27 September, 1995 that he did not apply for any foreign exchange when he went abroad in May 1993. He knew that Kittu of LTTE was stationed in London. He was informed by RAW when he was the cabinet minister that Kittu was on the pay roll of RAW. But he denied that he went to London to see Kittu and stayed with him. If it was true, who bore his expenses? That he lied is evident from his own statement when he could not tell the name of the person who bore his expenses. If he did not apply for any foreign exchange, it would mean that he had no money to spend in his London visit. I have reason to believe that the expenses of his visit were borne by either Kittu or any other operative of LTTE. It further gets support from his answer when he could not recall where and with whom had he stayed during his visit to London. He did not even recall

the name of the person who had paid his expenses. Now he writes the book and demands the extradition of V Parbhakaran and opposes LTTE as per his design and plan but he did not do anything when he was the law minister of India after knowing that Kittu of LTTE was being financed by RAW. He claims to have passed on the information to the prime minister orally that RAW had been financing Kittu and he had also told him that this was wrong. He adds that it was wrong because LTTE was a murderous organisation and it was against the national interest. He further poses to be innocent saying that he did not pursue this matter any further because it was not his business. Interestingly he is now speaking against LTTE to hide his involvement in RG's assassination but being the law minister he did nothing to stop RAW from financing LTTE. It would mean that SS did nothing during his ministership but he tried to do everything whenever he was on the opposition bench. He has claimed that Chander Shekhar was also the target of Arjun Singh through the Jain Commission, but he himself gave the reason to suspect the role of Chander Shekhar when the latter did not take action on his information of financing LTTE by RAW. Chander Shekhar should clarify as to why he did not stop RAW from financing LTTE. I suspect Subramanian Swamy that he had not told the prime minister what he now says purposely to conceal his relation with Kittu of LTTE. He was put a specific question by Ram Jethmalani if the information about LTTE which he was getting was for a price or for the love of it. He replied that he was not prepared to answer the question. If he did not get any finance from LTTE, he would have denied it. His reply to the above question is all the more reason to suspect that he was getting the finance from LTTE. He was confronted with a photocopy of the clipping of The *Hindu* dated 7 March, 1995. He admitted it to be his statement. He also agreed that he did not come across any list of LTTE and he did not receive anything by way of a hitlist. He had no knowledge whether the central

government had any hitlist in its possession. He had also denied to have seen his name in any hitlist. But he stood by his statement which he had made during his deposition on 6 July, 1995 that, after the dismissal of DMK government, a hitlist was received by the government in which there was the name of Rajiv Gandhi. Who will believe his statement when he himself contradicts it? He knowingly concealed the truth. He further claims not to have seen the hitlist and denies that he had any knowledge of a threat prior to RG's assassination. He claims that he had not requested that he should be provided with security on account of LTTE threat, but he was provided with security. Subramanian Swamy is a liar. He himself supports my opinion by publishing the report of Intelligence Bureau dated 1 April, 1991 in the references of his book According to the para A of this report:[28]

> Rajiv Gandhi continues to face most serious threat from Sikh extremists. Gurmeet Singh Gill, a Babbar Khalsa leader of UK indicated that Sikh terrorists had been deputed from Punjab to New Delhi to make attempt on Rajiv Gandhi. On the other hand, the ULFA was reported to have constituted suicide squads to attack Rajiv Gandhi, Hiteshwar Saikia and some other Congress (I) leaders.

It is evident from the above report that IB had no knowledge regarding the threat perception to Rajiv Gandhi from LTTE, and this was a major lapse on its part. Rajiv Gandhi had the danger to his life from LTTE but *Monthly Intelligence Digest,* No. 1/91 relating to VIP security was completely silent on the threat to Rajiv Gandhi from LTTE. The Verma Commission had made a similar observation about this lapse. Further, according to para F, it is said that:

> After the assassination of Sri Lankan Minister of State for Defence, a report was received indicating that there could be a threat to Dr Subramanian Swamy from LTTE militants or elements sympathetic to the latter.

This report even does not corroborate his statement regarding any hitlist of LTTE. It seem that the report was prepared under the influence of the then government and SS had managed to get his name in report of IB on VIP security for two reasons: one was to get the security and the other that, being on the hitlist of LTTE, he could defend himself if any suspicion arose about his role in the assassination of RG. This possibility gets further support from his own letter addressed to the chairman of Rajya Sabha that V Gopalaswamy, MP, had threatened to get him killed by LTTE. The IB report and his above letter both carry similar contents regarding the threat to his life. It is evident from his letter that IB had noted the threat perception to his life due to his own claim and request because he was then commerce and law minister and, being the member of Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs, had strong influence on intelligence agencies. Therefore, his denial about his request for security is not true in the light of what has been said above. He himself had said that he was a member of Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs which is the highest executive body of the democratic government. Being a member of the CCPA, he was conversant with regular information from RAW and IB. The above report was sent to all heads and chiefs of police throughout the country for security arrangements of VIPs mentioning that the hectic tours of these leaders in connection with the ensuing Lok Sabha poll would expose them more to the threats posed by the sectionist elements. In addition, they were likely to face additional threats from militant and irascible elements belonging to political opposition. All these factors were to be carefully examined at the time of planning the security arrangements for their tours in various states. Rajiv Gandhi had more danger from LTTE than ULFA, but the then government, of which Subramanian Swamy was a minister, was persuading the intelligence and the security forces to mention the threat to life of Subramanian Swamy instead of RG from LTTE. He is claiming now that he could not have

been a sympathiser of LTTE and was not involved in a wider conspiracy due to the reason that he himself was on the hit list of LTTE. This claim further increases the suspicion regarding his role in the conspiracy. He does not explain from where the threat to his life from LTTE originated. The sequence of events and circumstances suggest that the threat to his life originated from his own letter dated 4 March, 1991 which he had addressed to the chairman of Rajya Sabha against V Gopalaswamy, MP claiming that Gopalaswamy had threatened him that the date for his assassination had been fixed.[28] It might have been a joke made by Gopalaswamy or a plan of both the members of Parliament who hail from Tamil Nadu. Who can believe this version of Subramanian Swamy? MDMA should investigate from where the above threat perception originated and what was the motive behind it. Subramanian Swamy is an expert in changing his version. He had made a statement on 3 June, 1993 that his London source helped him to identify who was Dhanu, but he changed his source of information during his deposition on 12 September, 1995 stating that he had taken this information from his friend in Tamil Nadu in the refugee organisation. He claimed to pass on this information to the Director of IB and subsequently the human bomb was identified as the dead girl Dhanu. He backed out from his source of information because his informer might have been Kittu or any other person of LTTE. His deposition before JCI was a *tamasha* and an abuse to the probe panel. Justice Jain even had recorded on page 4 of his statement dated 13 July, 1995 that Ashok Arora, the counsel for Subramanian Swamy, came to him and whispered in Swamy's ear. He had broken all the norms of the law proceedings when he was in the witness box. His replies were guided by the body language of his counsel Ashok Arora. He had posed to be evasive. He had also tried to insult Ram Jethmalani during his cross-examination by saying that the latter had two wives, which was not at all relevant. He had

even denied to apologise for his indecent remarks. Justice Jain had pulled him up for his misbehaviour and after that he said, "If Mr Jethmalani feels hurt by my remarks, I express my apology." He himself posed to be a suspected person for his role and his knowledge in the wider conspiracy. According to my belief Subramanian Swamy is one of the high-level LTTE sympathisers who criticises and blames LTTE only for his design and plan to hide his LTTE link. What I have said above strengthens the involvement of a foreign hand because SS was receiving information from abroad, particularly from London. He was tested by JCI on the 20 March, 6 July, 13 July, 21 July, 8 September, 11 September, 12 September and 27 September, 1995. He had enough time to think and discuss the contents of his deposition with his advocates and other friends. This was the reason that he continued to change his statements and concealed the necessary information from the commission. In between his depositions, he had visited London along with Chandra Swamy to meet Jagjit Singh Chauhan, the self-proclaimed president of Khalistan. He welcomed the demand for the extradition of LTTE supremo Prabhakaran and his deputy Sadasivam Krishanakumar alias Kittu in connection with Rajiv Gandhi case for his own design and plan to cover up the wider conspiracy. Subramanian Swamy had also addressed a press conference on 23 August, 1991 stating that LTTE alone had killed RG and there was no other conspiracy behind the murder. SIT was investigating on all angles including foreign hand till the very day when Subramaniam Swamy said "With the involvement of Sivrasan in the murder, I do not think that there is any need or reason to look beyond the LTTE for a conspiracy." He also added that the orders had clearly come from Jaffna and Prabhakaran and it was stupid to talk of the involvement of any other foreign agency including the US. He had issued this statement to bury the conspiracy forever because on the same day, the

commission was set up to probe the conspiracy behind the murder of RG. The questions that arise are:

1. Why had he issued this statement before the conclusion of investigation and filing the chargesheet in the designated court by SIT?
2. Had he tried to appease CIA and MOSSAD?
3. Had he stated what he did to divert the attention of SIT from the wider conspiracy to LTTE alone?
4. Had he stated what he did under the direction of the US because SB Chavan, the union home minister, had named the super power addressing the Parliament on 4 June, 1991.
5. Why had he issued the statement on the same day when the Jain Commission of Inquiry was constituted by the Government of India on 23 August, 1991 for probing the wider conspiracy beyond LTTE?
6. If he was of the firm opinion that LTTE alone had killed Rajiv Gandhi, why had he blamed Jayalalitha after some years claiming that she had prior knowledge?
7. Had he stated it to protect himself and Chandra Swamy for their alleged role and relation with MOSSAD and CIA as stated by Zaffar Saifullah, the former cabinet secretary?

According to my knowledge the commission had no knowledge about his above statement, otherwise JCI would have taken cognizance of it. He had a different story for different days and had received several letters from the commission seeking information in the form of an affidavit on the queries based on his various statements about RG's murder except the above statement.

JCI had sent him a letter on 18 June, 1993. He did not file his required affidavit. He again received a letter from the commission dated 12 July, 1993 requiring specific and complete answers to the four questions mentioned in para 2 and one question in para 3 in the form of an affidavit. The commission had sent him a reminder dated 28 September, 1993. Meanwhile he addressed a press conference on

29 January, 1994 and *the Hindu* newspaper had carried a report in respect of his press conference in its Madras edition on 30 January, 1994. The commission again directed him vide letter dated 11 February, 1994 asking 16 questions saying he should file an affidavit along with the materials and documents which were in his possession. But neither he filed any affidavit nor did he submit any relevant documents. The commission sent him a letter dated 25 February, 1994 seeking his affidavit along with relevant evidences. The commission again directed him to file an affidavit vide its letter dated 4 July, 1994. The commission once again directed him on 15 July, 1994 to furnish the information. He again received the commission's letter dated 31 October, 1994. Instead of filing an affidavit, he had requested in his press conference to summon the Chief Election Commissioner, TN Seshan first. SS was not following the direction of the commission because he wanted to conceal the true facts. Finally, he filed his affidavit on 2 November, 1994. He had been receiving letters from the commission since 18 June, 1993, but he delayed filing his affidavit for about 17 months. According to para 2 of his affidavit, TN Seshan had come to him on 22 May, 1991 to inform that the Israel's intelligence outfit MOSSAD was the mastermind behind LTTE in Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. In his statement on 20 March, 1995, he said that TN Seshan had even told this to Prime Minister Chander Shekhar a few days after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and the PM had joked about it saying, *Kya tumhara Seshan pagal ho gaye hai*. Subramanian Swamy also admitted that this was a very serious charge and, if true, it would have a very vital effect.

Despite the seriousness of Seshan's charge and suspicion, he did not bring it to the notice of SIT. When he was questioned on it, he claimed that it was already in the knowledge of the prime minister. His this reply further exposed him because he was interacting with SIT, being the

cabinet minister and member of CCPA. First he had concealed the truth and later he had blamed Seshan assuming that Seshan himself would have taken up the matter with SIT. Did he not have a moral responsibility to inform SIT if he had come to know a lead to the conspiracy? He contradicted himself by claiming that he did not take the charge of Seshan seriously because he thought that Seshan was saying this due to his emotional shock from the assassination of RG. Thus he had changed his statement thrice.

The serious charge that a foreign agency was involved in the assassination and that Seshan had met Subramanian Swamy first and Prime Minster Chander Shekhar later, informing both about it, had been published in Seshans's biography *Seshan — An Intimate Story,* authored by Govindan Kutty. The book reveals that Subramanian Swamy had warned Seshan and Prime Minister Chander Shekhar got stunned by Seshan's suspicion. Subramanian Swamy and TN Seshan had old relations with each other which continued till April 1994. Subramanian Swamy was professor at Harvard and TN Seshan was a student there. Therefore it was abnormal to warn Seshan. SS was the law minister and it was his business to bring the charge made by Seshan to the notice of SIT. Instead of doing that, he had indirectly threatened Seshan.

A close aide of Chander Shekhar, Rajmangal Pandey had revealed to Vir Sanghvi after a few days of RG's assassination that a high official had met Shekhar and he alleged that a minister should be investigated in the assassination. After reading the biography of Seshan, Sanghvi recollected the disclosure made by Sekhar's aide and he wrote an article in *Sunday* magazine indicating that the high official who had visited the Prime Minister Shekhar was TN Seshan and the minister who was referred by him was SS. Therefore he had written that LTTE was only an agency and the conspiracy had other foreign links and that a minister in the Chander Shekhar's cabinet had something to do with this. SS had

stated with regard to Vir Sanghvi's story that he could not guess who could be the civil servant and the minister referred to. He knowingly did not reply this question, while he knew that he was the minister and TN Seshan was the civil servant. Now, he writes in the book that Vir Sanghvi was an LTTE sympathiser who was spreading disinformation to protect LTTE. Contrary to his claim, SS seems to have written the book purposely to propagate disinformation to bury the suspected role of CS and himself which they had played in the conspiracy to assassinate RG. Although he has not criticised me in his book for my revealation to the JCI regarding the wider conspiracy, he will certainly start to criticise me after reading my book. TN Seshan was his student and a friend. The student (Seshan) also concealed the truth purposely to protect his guru (SS) and godman friend (CS) during his cross-examination. Justice Jain observed in the final report that TN Seshan was not making a truthful statement. He was not disclosing his mind. Seshan, former chief election commissioner (CEC) who had posed to be a strong man and a fundamentalist reformer for fair elections, had visited the *ashram* of Chandra Swamy and had accepted a costly ring valued at Rs 6-7 lakh as a token of 'blessing' from Chandra Swamy. Therefore he did not reveal the knowledge he had in his possession regarding the plot to kill RG. The strongest person Seshan was found the weakest during his test in the witness box due to the warning which was made by SS in 1991. Justice MC Jain observed in his report, "TN Seshan appears to be a believer in the Sanskrit maxim: *Satyam bruyad priyam bruyad, na bruyad satyam apriyam,* i.e. speak the truth, the pleasant truth; never speak the unpleasant truth." While making the statement on oath, he was required to state the whole truth and nothing but the truth. From what has been stated on pages 163 and 164 of the book, it does not appear that he has spoken the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He concealed the facts and purposely did not speak the unpleasant truth. So

he did not reveal the name of foreign agency MOSSAD which was certainly in his mind when he had met SS and Chander Shekhar.

The disclosure of the involvement of some foreign agency had led Subramanian Swamy to become angry enough to warn Seshan not only once but twice, and Chander Shekhar to be stunned. The revelation made by Sheshan must have been such that made Subramanian Swamy so angry as to warn Seshan and stun Chander Shekhar. All the above is getting further support from the book of Subramanian Swamy. He has written against Arjun Singh, LK Advani, TN Seshan, Vir Sanghvi, Vinod Mehta, George Fernandes, Mani Shankar Aiyar, Ram Jethmalani, Jayalalitha's friend Sasikala and RSS. His anger and reaction further raises suspicion. He would certainly express his anger on me after the publication of this book but I am prepared to face his anger in the interest of justice, law, truth, the Congress and Rajiv's family. The image of Seshan was considered to be brave and honest but he lost his credibility on the issue of Rajiv's killing. While I suffered a lot due to my stand since July 1991 I would continue to speak the truth till the logical end of investigation into the conspiracy. Subramanian Swamy stated that Chandra Swamy was not in India when they formed the government. It was so because CS was apprehensive of his arrest in St Kitts case during VP Singh's regime. It was unfortunate that the Law Minister of India Subramanian Swamy received CS at Delhi airport on his return from abroad. Chandra Swamy is a CIA operative and friend of arms dealer Adnan Khashogi and was enjoying a high status and privileges during the tenures of Chander Shekhar and later of PV Narasimha Rao. Chandra Swamy was super prime minister and therefore CIA was ruling India through Chandra Swamy from the end of 1990 to the middle of 1996. It had become more possible after the murder of Rajiv Gandhi. SS has stated that the differences between Chander Shekhar and Rajiv Gandhi had begun from the very first day of the former taking

over as the prime minister. He also revealed during his testimony that CS was keen to ensure that Shekhar continued as the prime minister of the country. So the circumstances too suggest that CS had conspired to assassinate RG so that Chander Shekhar would continue to be the prime minister. He himself had stated on page 10 of his statement before the commission dated 20 March, 1995 that widespread media perception was that Rajiv Gandhi would emerge as the prime minister. He also said that even in the central hall of Parliament and in political circles there was a similar feeling. His statement does suggest that CS may have conspired to eliminate RG in the emerging political scenario in favour of the Congress. But SS changed his version claiming that Rajiv Gandhi was not coming to form the government at the centre and therefore foreign agencies would not be keen to eliminate him. Subramanian Swamy earlier on page 10 of his statement of 20 March, 1995 had said that because of sending troops to Maldives and to Sri Lanka and giving out the slogan *mera desh mahan* Rajiv Gandhi was not liked by many outside India. RG had doubled the defence budget in five years which was also taken with alarm. He also said that there were politicians in India who did not like Rajiv Gandhi as prime minister or as upcoming prime minister. His this statement does suggest that anti-Rajiv elements possibly might have been involved. Keeping this possibility in his mind, he had stated on page 11 of his above statement to the probe panel that CIA, like other intelligence organisations, had its presence in many countries and no country in the world liked Rajiv Gandhi as he was a strong prime minister. This he had said in response to the question if America would want Rajiv Gandhi to be the prime minister again. He also stated that MOSSAD might be operating in India and since America and Israel were friendly countries, he did not rule out that CIA and MOSSAD might be having the same strategic interests. But in his book he gives a clean chit to CIA and MOSSAD. He says now that ISI had relations

with LTTE while he had stated earlier that he had no knowledge about any relationship between LTTE and ISI prior to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. His latest claim regarding the link between LTTE and ISI gives reason to suspect that he is not only pro-US and Israel but also a CIA and MOSSAD operative. SS had earlier said that some Sikh terrorist organisations were equally interested in eliminating Rajiv Gandhi but he remarked in his book that the story of Mahant Sewa Dass Singh regarding the involvement of Khalistan leader Jagjit Singh Chauhan was a creation of Arjun Singh. But his allegation is not corroborated. CS, SS, Chautala and Shekhar had discussed a plan by which Chander Shekhar would take over the leadership of the Congress. Therefore he stated in his statement of 20 March, 1995 on page 14 that there was no serious talk about Chander Shekhar taking over as the president of AICC and the press might have highlighted it. It would mean that they did talk about Chander Shekhar taking over the presidentship of AICC but it was not serious talk as per his mind. His this statement too reflects that the motive behind assassination was to destabilise the country as well as the Congress. His own statement strengthens the possibility that CS might have conspired to kill RG as he wanted Chander Shekhar to continue as the prime minister. Chandra Swamy, Chander Shekhar and Subramanian Swamy had originated the idea of the presidentship of AICC being taken over by Chander Shekhar. But after his other devotee PV Narasimha Rao was elected to head the Congress, Chandra Swamy had changed his stand in favour of Rao. SS negates the theory that Rajiv Gandhi was killed so that Chander Shekhar would continue to be the prime minister, but his double-talk is exposed when he deposed on 20 March, 1991 that the cabinet did not discuss the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi but it discussed the postponement of elections.Today he can give several explanations, yet the truth was that they tried to get the elections postponed for six months or a year but they failed

because CS had found another devotee in Narasimha Rao to rule on India. SS himself revealed on 20 March, 1995 that he and Shekhar had met the president and discussed for one hour the postponement of election. That Chander Shekhar wanted to capture the leadership of the Congress to retain his prime ministership is evident from his interview to *The Muslim* (daily) of Pakistan dated 26 April, 1991, wherein Shekhar claimed that he would prove a better leader of the Congress and it was high time that the largest democracy in the world was not controlled by a single family for such a long time.

He wrote that the disinformation campaign regarding the involvement of CIA and MOSSAD was to divert the attention from LTTE to other agencies and was propounded by the high contacts of LTTE like Arjun Singh, Jethmalani and Fernandes because, according to his mind, LTTE alone had killed RG. Again he contradicted himself when he deposed that all the big nations were alarmed with the doubling of the defence budget by Rajiv Gandhi and he wanted to liberalise the Indian economy, but could not go fast enough. He also said that RG was not for socialism or for the centralised economic order. Considering his deposition on oath, his latest statement in the book that there was no wider conspiracy cannot be believed.

SS was requesting the commission to summon Jayalalitha, the then chief minister of Tamil Nadu, for political reasons to pressurise the Congress for the dismissal of her government by insinuating that she had prior knowledge of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. He had admitted his above selfish motive on page 18 of his statement before JCI on 20 March, 1995 that the main point of his programme was the dismissal of Jayalalitha's government. Later he joined her political alliance and entered the Lok Sabha with her support in 1998. That time his main programme was to somehow grab the cabinet post of finance minister. When he failed to do that, he and CS pressed Mulayam Singh Yadav not to

give Samajwadi Party support for Sonia Gandhi to form the government after the downfall of the government led by AB Vajpayee. By now Jayalalitha had identified his real face and she had broken the alliance with his one-man led party. Sonia Gandhi too would identify this political blackmailer and a plotter behind the assassination very soon. This time his main programme is to cover up the probe of MDMA and that is why SS rejects the possibility of a wider conspiracy. But he himself stated on 6 July, 1991 during his testimony that the transcripts from January 1991 to July 1991 were in the possession of Tamil Nadu unit of IB but they were not forwarded to the central government, especially the 20-21 March, 1991 conversation where there were enough indications of the discussion between Pottu Ammam and Sivrasan whether the assassination should be carried out in Delhi or in Tamil Nadu. I want to ask the most controversial politician — was the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi possible in Delhi without hatching a wider conspiracy? The plot to assassinate RG in the capital of India would mean that LTTE had strong backing of highly placed persons in Delhi. This definitely strengthens the conspiracy theory. Subramanian Swamy is very particular to deny the involvement of CIA and MOSSAD but he has forgotten what he had deposed on 6 July, 1995 in the witness box of JCI. He had said in reply to a question:

> In my last deposition I have already said that the international conspiracy cannot be ruled out. The reasons why it cannot be ruled out are:
>
> (a) Shri Rajiv Gandhi doubled defence expenditure and modernised India's defence.
> (b) He sent troops to Sri Lanka and Maldives to demonstrate that India would defend its interests abroad.
> (c) He coined phrases like *mera bharat mahan*.

A very serious question arises now as to why he has changed the stand in his book. Can it be said that he changed his statement either under pressure from CIA and MOSSAD or to protect himself, Chandra Swamy and OP Chautala from prosecution in Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. His book *The Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi* itself focuses further suspicion on his role because earlier his last words on international conspiracy were "However unless we catch Parbhakaran we will never know whether there was an international conspiracy". Parbhakaran has not been arrested but SS certainly has changed his statement on the international conspiracy saying that LTTE alone had killed RG.

Subramanian Swamy always had access to get the copy of the transcripts of IB and therefore he had knowledge of relations between LTTE and Sikh militants; but he did not speak on this aspect due to his and CS's proximity to JS Chauhan, the self-styled leader of Khalistan. Although he had stated on record on the source of informant that LTTE had connections with ISI, ULFA, Peoples War Group of Andhra Pradesh and JKLF, yet he had not come across any information to connect LTTE with the Sikh elements. Who will believe Subramanian Swamy when he states the above. LTTE and Khalistan terrorists both are operating from their headquarters in London and therefore both must be exchanging and discussing their joint operation of terrorism for the common cause to achieve the goal of their separate states. Both the Swamys (CS and SS) had links with LTTE and Sikh militants based in London; they knew that Sikh militants were also associated with LTTE, which was the reason why he did not speak about the relations of LTTE with Sikh militants due to the fear of disclosure of the conspiracy.

The then Union Home Minister SB Chavan is on record having said in Parliament on 4 June, 1991 that the super power (US) was behind Rajiv's assassination, but in an unprecedented move, a spokesman of the external affair ministry had denied this after the visit and protest of US

ambassador to the prime minister. Chavan never retracted his statement. He also stated before JCI:

> It is correct that the very day the American Ambassador in India met the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Foreign Secretary and the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs held the Press Conference and contradicted my statement regarding involvement of Super Power.

SB Chavan also added that it was abnormal that the spokesperson of MEA had held the press conference contradicting his statement. The readers can form their own opinion about the pressure from the US on the Government of India. In my opinion SB Chavan was pressed by the US through the prime minister and therefore he changed his statement slightly during his deposition before JCI when he stated:

> I am still of the view that some foreign power is involved. It is not the job of LTTE alone. The general impression is that some other powers may also be involved. That possibility I do not rule out. I am very cautious in my statement. I do not want to spoil our relations with any foreign country. So I cannot be specific unless I have some evidence at my disposal.

He had opined that he had the same reaction as deposed by him in respect of the statement of Subramanian Swamy recorded on 20 March, 1995 when he stated that Seshan, the former CEC, had informed him about the involvement of Israel's MOSSAD which was the real mastermind behind LTTE. Chavan admits that the foreign hand is definitely involved in the gruesome killing.

He also revealed on oath:

> There is very much presence of CIA in India and in all the developing countries...every effort is being made by

> them to destabilise these countries.... There were some congressional committees inquiring into the matter of involvement of CIA.

He concluded his statement before the probe panel saying "I stand by the statement which I made, whether I hold the charge or not." It would mean that he stands by his statement regarding the involvement of super power, i.e. USA. Chavan had not changed his stand since 4 June, 1991 when he made the statement in the Parliament about the involvement of the super power. Swamy must learn from Chavan what is an irrevocable statement, and stick to what he says.

Subramanian Swamy has claimed that he used to demand the extradition of Prabhakaran and has blamed Jayalalitha for her relations with LTTE. I had earlier written that Subramanian Swamy used to demand the extradition of Parbhakaran for his own design and plan for hiding his role which he played in the assassination. It gets link from his letter dated 26 February 1999 regarding extradition of V Parbhakaran. He demanded his extradition after tabling the commission's report in the Parliament along with the Action Taken Report (ATR) when the Government of India had entrusted his suspected role to MDMA for probing further. He had to blame Jayalalitha that she had the link with LTTE, but she had always demanded the extradition of Parbhakaran and condemned LTTE for the gruesome killing.

SS had blamed Jayalalitha that she was pro-LTTE. SS is exposed when the former Home Minister Chavan revealed the commission that Jayalalitha, The chief minister of Tamil Nadu, had been writing to the Government of India for extradition of Prabhakaran. Possibly Jayalalitha had also demanded of the prime minister to ban LTTE.

The PLO leader Yasser Arafat had told Prime Minister Shekhar that he had prior knowledge of the assassination and he had warned RG regarding the plot to end his life. Indeed Arafat does not leave any doubt about the involvement of a foreign power.

JN Dixit, the former foreign secretary, who was commission's witness no. 46, was very categorical about the excellent and extensive intelligence network of PLO inside Israel and, according to him, the information regarding the plot to get rid of Rajiv Gandhi during election period by the hostile forces given by Yasser Arafat must be genuine and truthful. In his experience, CIA was a hostile force. Dixit also revealed that LTTE cadres were trained by PLO in the eighties and therefore LTTE might have some contacts with PLO and they might have got some information which might have been passed on to Yasser Arafat. PR Sood, the then ambassador in Tunis, had sent a telegram to IP Khosla, former secretary, ministry of external affairs, on the basis of his enquiry from Yassar Arafat. Sood deposed on 10 January, 1997 supporting his claim that Arafat had sources in MOSSAD and therefore the information from his sources inside Israel must be genuine. Sood further claimed that though Arafat did not disclose his well-established sources in Europe because his sources may still be in London and in Paris, and LTTE was based in both the places. The statement of IP Khosla, witness no. 31, also supports the sources of Arafat in Europe by stating that such sources may be Palestinians and Arabs residing in Europe. The statement of Sood has more weight and there is every reason to believe the information given by him because he had a face-to-face meeting with Arafat.

Mukchand Dubey, former foreign secretary and witness no. 34, also stated the hostile forces mentioned by Arafat in his telegram about the prior information of the assassination plot may refer to MOSSAD and could even be CIA, or both. The then Prime Minister Chander Shekhar stated that after general election, Yasser Arafat had told him that he had some doubt about conspiracy by a foreign agency and whatever Arafat had said, he had taken it seriously. He claimed that Arafat did not tell him what he had told Rajiv Gandhi. Shekhar further said, "Every bit of information which I received, I took seriously; but whether the agencies took them

seriously I cannot say." GS Bajpai, foreign secretary and witness no. 52, stated. "On 4 June, 1991 Prime Minister Chander Shekhar told me that he had been told by Yasser Arafat that CIA/MOSSAD/LTTE were behind the plot to kill Rajiv Gandhi." The deposition of GS Bajpai is evidence that Chander Shekhar concealed what he had been told by Arafat and had taken no follow-up action.

Dixit also said that possibly Yasser Arafat had information both from PLO and Israel and therefore he had called his ambassador to Tunis and sent him to Rajiv Gandhi to warn him about the oncoming danger to his life. This meant that he had taken the information seriously. Dixit also agreed that there was possibility of the presence of CIA and MOSSAD in India during 1990-91. He stated that the Bush administration would certainly be unhappy about Rajiv Gandhi's opposition the refueling facilities provided by India to US Air Force planes during the Gulf war. Dixit further deposed in the Jain Commission:

> The likelihood of Rajiv Gandhi coming back to power after the election might have also been viewed with some reservations not so much by the US government itself but by certain segments of the US defence and intelligence establishments in the above context.

In this regard the statement made by DR Karthikeyan 'in camera' on 19 September, 1997 is very significant because he was the chief of SIT who conducted the investigation into Rajiv's killing. He said that SIT could not carry its investigation to its logical end in a matter like Yasser Arafat's disclosure of the wider conspiracy as SIT was advised by the government against pursuing it further for the reasons mentioned by MEA in their letter dated 24 September, 1992.

The former Prime Minister VP Singh too deposed before JCI that CIA had its presence and activity in India. He added that CIA and MOSSAD were working jointly and our relations with Israel during Indira Gandhi's time were not good. SS

blames that Arjun Singh had used the Jain Commission for settling his personal score with PV Narasimha Rao. On the contrary, Rao himself said that Arafat was his personal friend as well as a friend of India and any information emanating from him needed to be given due weight because Arafat was very close to both Rajiv Gandhi and Indira Gandhi, and he used to call Indira Gandhi as his sister. SS does not smell a conspiracy but Rao suspects the conspiracy and he described Rajiv's assassination as a larger "design by divisive forces to destabilise the country." Rao went on to add that even Indira Gandhi's assassination was a plot to create instability in the nation, but then Rajiv Gandhi was there to step into her shoes and carry on the rich legacy. Rao's belief was that these two assassinations were not mere killings, they had the same intention behind them to destabilise the country by divisive forces. He also explained that divisive forces could be internal as well as external but he had both in his mind. Rao also deposed that the Congress policy was for setting up of regional security system in the Middle East and therefore RG had visited Moscow and Tehran. Rao concluded on refuelling of US war planes and American reaction:

> The American reaction would have been unfavourable on account of opposition by Gandhi of (sic) refuelling of American War Planes and external interference with the security of Middle East.

Rao further said that the policy of the Congress was not to allow refuelling of the American war planes in the Gulf war and he made a statement in Parliament against permitting refuelling on Indian soil. But he did not recollect what was the American reaction in connection with the parliamentary elections. According to Rao, there was general belief that Rajiv Gandhi would emerge as the prime minister. He agreed that there was definitely a plot to kill RG. If he had that in his mind, why did he not take any major step during his tenure as prime minister to unearth the conspiracy?

Justice Jain has observed that despite all the knowledge of Rao, it is ununderstandable as to why efforts were not made by his government to find out the conspiracy as revealed by Yasser Arafat and that something could have been done at his level. Justice Jain also observed that Rao was very categorical in stating that the assassination was not merely a killing but one with an aim to destabilise India and, therefore, it was very imperative to pursue the matter to its logical conclusion.

P Chidambram, former union minister, had stated under oath that he was told during his visit to Sri Lanka that MOSSAD was training LTTE. He knew that MOSSAD interacted with various agencies of the world including CIA. He further stated that Rajiv had objected to refuelling of US aircraft by Chander Shekhar's government during the Gulf war. America must have been unhappy about this but it was a principled stand of Rajiv Gandhi. The statement made by Chidambram reveals the LTTE link with MOSSAD and therefore the possibility of MOSSAD involvement strengthens.

KK Tewary, former minister of state for external affairs, also deposed that he had held a press conference in connection with international conspiracy to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi and the involvement of CIA was based on his own analysis and press material which was overwhelming. Tewary felt convinced that CIA was the brain behind the assassination. He also disclosed that CIA always worked with MOSSAD in South and South-East Asia and CIA was working hand in glove with SAVAK, an Iranian Intelligence Agency when the Shah was in power. According to him, LTTE was instrumental in the assassination but there could have been other linkages with LTTE.

Ratnakar Pandey, a close associate of RG, stated that the government of Chander Shekher had permitted refuelling of American planes in the Gulf war under the influence and direction of CIA. He said that there was a link of JKLF, LTTE

and Khalistan Commando Force with CIA and therefore RG was killed by a much wider international conspiracy.

Though Sonia Gandhi was not summoned, she too informed the commission in response to commission's letter that President Yasser Arafat had sent messages to her husband about the threat to his life. This threat was reconfirmed to Sonia and her children personally by President Arafat when he met them soon after Rajiv's funeral. She further informed the commission that there were other occasions too when Rajiv had received similar information from other sources. So Rajiv used to ask Sonia and Priyanka to take certain precautions, such as changing their patterns of movement outside the house and taking different routes to places customarily visited, altering their timings, etc. Sonia also revealed in her letter to the probe panel that Rajiv was more worried about the safety of their son Rahul studying in the US and usually advised Sonia to telephone Rahul to be extra careful and alert.

Professor Bhim Singh, an advocate of the Supreme Court as well as senior politician, interviewed Yasser Arafat for *Voice of Millions*, a TV network in India regarding the involvement of foreign hand.

Bhim Singh put certain questions which were replied by Yasser Arafat as under:

> We are in one of the PLO headquarters....with one of the greatest revolutionary in the world, Chairman, His Excellency Mr. Yasser Arafat.

Interview

Ques.: I had read that you had advised Rajiv Gandhi to be very careful?

Ans: Yes, yes. Directly. I had received very important information and I called upon my Ambassador in New Delhi and sent him directly to him. This information he (RG) had with him, some such thing, similar.

> Ques.: Do you think he was victim of some international conspiracy?
> Ans: No doubt, no doubt. It is an international conspiracy. Not an internal affair. This is international because you know he was one of the heroes, he was one of the most important personalities and figures not only in India, not only in Asia, not only in Africa but in the whole non-aligned movement countries. Now we are discovering how badly we are in need of him. We not the Palestinians but the whole movement of non-aligned countries are in need of him.

RAW had shared some information with IB about MOSSAD activities in India in the year immediately preceding the assassination. IB had confirmed to RAW that Amos Radian and Giora Betchar were from MOSSAD and both were noticed frequently driving their car alone during late night hours as well. According to RAW, among the MOSSAD agents, one woman, Stavincy Jacob, a German passport-holder was known as Sundar in the Rajneesh *ashram* and the other girl was holding a Swiss passport. There were also two males — one was David holding an American passport. One of the main tasks of the four-member group was to recruit Palestinians for their work in 1990-91. RAW had further reported on 8 April, 1991 that Stavincy Jacob aged about 27 years was a German national and she had then disappeared and her whereabouts were not known.

Justice Jain observed on page 78, volume III of the Final Report:

> It may be stated here that LTTE could not have functioned as a mercenary only. LTTE is not a mercenary organisation. LTTE has a clear goal of Tamil Eelam and for the achievement of that aim, if any assistance in any form is available to it, that can be availed and may act for the same target which may also be the target of other intelligence agencies. To avail the target may be the goal

> of each one, and how that goal is to be achieved through one outfit may be by helping that outfit, either in the form of supply of sophisticated weapons or by funding it.

About CIA's presence in India, the commission observed:

> As regards CIA activities in India, RAW had informed IB in respect of two suspected American intelligence officers who were in India in the months preceding Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, vide UO Note No. 24/6/91-CIS-4524 dated 2.4.1991 and No. 24/7/91-CIS-5830 dated 19.4.1991. In the note dated 2.4.1991, information was given in respect of one Mr William C Graham and the other is Mr Lawrence N Benedict.

With reference to several intelligence reports about the sudden increase in CIA and MOSSAD activities in Tamil Nadu, Justice Jain's observation is very much significant. The commission's report reads:

> The reports from RAW and IB only point out the presence of MOSSAD and CIA agents in India. However, it cannot be said that there had been no MOSSAD and CIA agents operating in India other than what has come to the notice of our agencies as mentioned in the above reports.

Indeed there is a long chain of CIA and MOSSAD agents in India operating in various hidden forms. The Joint Director, South Zone of IB, NV Vathsan, had sent a computer fax message No. 402/91 dated 24 April, 1991 to the Director, IB informing that Ibrahim, a Lebanese Christian based in Cyprus, had supplied arms and ammunition to LTTE.[33] The report further reads that one Charles Obed had given his daugther in marriage to the son of a Mafia 'don' Joseph of Beirut who dealt in arms and had connections with CIA. The reports adds that K Padamanabhan alias KP had arranged the weaponry.

It was also informed that the LTTE ship 'Yelicia' was scheduled to touch Tuticorin harbour on 29 April, 1991 and 'Sun Bird', another vessel belonging to LTTE was in the Malaysian port Kuching. The sequence of events does suggest that LTTE had received weaponry shipments before and after the assassination. The supply of weapons leaves no doubt about the involvement of a foreign hand.

The CIA link with LTTE is clearly borne out by the letter of joint director, SIB, Madras, dated 19 July, 1990.[29] According to this report the LTTE, was in touch with CIA for getting anti-aircraft guns, and CIA was likely to exploit the American interest in Trincomallee as *quid pro quo*. According to another intelligence report dated 4 September, 1990[31] some messages were sent by Parbhakaran to KP in mid-August which revealed that LTTE was looking for a *surface-to-air missile* and its accessories. The orders to purchase the same were given and Prabhakaran had directed KP to send some persons who could handle the weapon system. In a subsequent message in August 1990, Prabhakaran had advised KP to send his men through other cadres.[30] In another communication of IB, it was stated that KP was camping in Cyprus and he would be in a position to spare a sum of one million US dollars for buying arms and ammunitions provided Prabhakaran would pay the amount within two months. The message also indicated different types of equipment related to army. Another message of IB of 11 September, 1990 was about the ship and other equipments being procured by LTTE in furtherance of their war efforts.[32] Justice Jain observed that IB had the information that an effort was made by KP to seek the help of CIA to acquire weapons and it appears that the effort was successful and supplies could be obtained.

Press media had carried several important news regarding the likelihood of a foreign hand behind LTTE. There is plethora of credible news items about the involvement of the foreign hand.[52, 56]

I invite the attention of the reader to Bob Woodwards treatise *VEIL: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-87*. This is a classic study of the relationship between the management of the world's most sophisticated espionage apparatus and making of foreign policy. Treachery, deception, bribery, even assassination were the tools. The writer Bob Woodwards was assistant managing editor of the investigation staff of the *Washington Post*. It is recorded on page 268 that Congolese nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba's assassination was planned by CIA. As regards Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, it is stated on page 313 that his assassination at a public parade on 6 October, 1981 was one of the CIA's most important intelligence assignments. As regards the escape of Jagjit Singh Chauhan, the leader of Khalistani movement, it is stated in the book that he was helped by CIA to obtain a visa to enter the UK and, according to reliable sources, a US Air Force plane took him for a brief visit there. The book further states that R Burtz, a paid CIA agent, was found to be working as a missionary in Tripura. He was helping the secessionists to cross the border. There are various reports in the book testifying how CIA influenced the policies of India. There is further reference of US strategic plan to 'Balkanise India' and 'to destroy its influence in the third world and elsewhere'. The plan was a part of a blueprint which says that President Reagan had recommended that CIA should launch a special operation, specially in the third world.

Even Rajiv Gandhi had the information that the death of Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan, was not accidental and that he was killed by CIA. Rajiv had given his last interview to Neena Gopal and Barbara Crossette a few minutes before the blast on 21 May, 1991 disclosing this and had indicated that he himself was also facing a danger from CIA. CIA is a mastermind to assassinate international leaders to keep the balance of power in favour of the US. Subramanian Swamy shoud feel ashamed to have disowned the theory of the involvement of foreign hand behind the assassination of Rajiv

Gandhi. It is more shameful for him when he claims to be the friend of Rajiv Gandhi. It is shameful for Subramanian Swamy to issue the press statement after his meeting with Sonia Gandhi claiming that she also disowned the findings of the probe penal and the ATR which entrusted further probe to MDMA. Swamy wrote in his book that during 1987-89, RG sometimes would ask him about the USA and to interpret the nuances of something he had read in US magazines. He could not understand why he was getting such an indifferent to bad press in the USA. "Thinking that since I (Subramanian) had spent years at Harvard, I would be some kind of expert on the Americans, he quizzed me on many matters relating to the US." Subramanian Swamy further wrote that Rajiv "was convinced that Zia-ul-Haq, President of Pakistan was killed in an aircrash because the CIA did not like some of Zia's planned initiatives (what these were he said he would tell me later but never did nor did I try to pry)". It is very clear from the version of Subramanian Swamy that Rajiv had definite knowledge regarding the CIA plot to kill the President of Pakistan, but he did not disclose fully to him because SS was not trustworthy. RG knew that SS was a person who used to criticise him, his mother and Sonia Gandhi. He even had raised a question about Sonia Gandhi in Parliament during the regime of Indira Gandhi. Rajiv had gathered the information regarding CIA's role and its target when he was the prime minister. SS should drown himself in handful of water for his own conduct to reject the wider conspiracy theory. He himself damages his version when he writes further in his book that superpowers were not going to facilitate India's development to a world power status and that we shall have to fight for that every inch of the way. He also claimed to have apprised RG that the world's super-power would certainly not like an Indian leader who was strong and said that his doubling the defence budget and despatching Indian troops abroad for pacification campaigns had an adverse reaction abroad. RG had agreed with him and said

that his talks with Reagan had convinced him of that. It would mean that SS had briefed RG that he might face danger from US because he was the strong ruler of the country. This information being there in Subramanian Swamy's book clearly gives a picture that he wrote the book not only in his defence but also in defence of CIA and MOSSAD, with both of whom he has old relations.

SS has no stand in politics, he has no stand on his theory and he has no stand on national issues. He and others should not lose their balance by way of publishing at times fantastically false stories and making tall claims on such sensational issues which not only damage the national interest but also the interest of the third-world countries.

Eelam People's Representatives Liberation Force (EPRLF) leader PK Padmanabhan was killed by LTTE hit squads on the 19 June, 1990 at A/5 Power Apartments, Zaekariah Colony, Madras. SFG-87 (Singapore Fragmentation Grenade) and AK-47 were used by LTTE. The assassination of Padmanabhan is similar to the assassination of RG in several ways. Sivrasan, Pottu Amman and others were common accused in both cases. Interestingly, the steel pellets were found similar in both the devices. With there being a similarity between both assassinations, it was thought that SFG-87 had been used by Dhanu but there was a dispute as to the composition of SFG hand grenades. SFG used in Padmanabhan's assassination has 8 gram composition B = 60 per cent RDX + 40 per cent TNT, but the explosive used in the case of Rajiv Gandhi was RDX alone. The chemical examination conducted by TNFSL (Tamil Nadu Forensic Science Laboratory) had made it clear that the IED used in Rajiv's case did not contain TNT. Therefore it cannot be SFG-87 in the IED used by the woman assassin to kill RG.

To remove the doubts, the samples were sent to US for testing in the FBI Laboratory. FBI reported that the samples may have contained degraded products of TNT and therefore

FBI suggested that the samples should be sent expeditiously to a laboratory in Israel for further test and analysis. Despite the doubt raised by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, USA, SIT did not send the samples to Israel for further test and, therefore, Justice Jain observed:

> This scientific aspect of investigation may be quite relevant; still it will not affect the prosection in the light of the other evidence collected during investigation. If the investigation had been conducted the whole gamut of persons involved in the conspiracy would have come to light.

When we consider the above circumstances, we find that the investigation conducted by SIT is incomplete. Even the chargesheet is silent on whether the improvised explosive device (IED) was fabricated in India or brought from oustide India and Sri Lanka. Only the battery was procured at Madras and, on the basis of battery alone, we cannot say that the IED was fabricated in India by LTTE alone.

Dr Karthikeyan, chief of SIT, was cross-examined at length on the issue by the commission. He deposed that a lot of investigation had been done on the components of the IED device from inside and outside India but SIT had no evidence to establish the origin of IED — whether the whole or part of it was fabricated in India or brought from outside. Karthikeyan clearly deposed that there was no evidence as to who actually fabricated the whole IED device. He also said that it was quite possible that some components like pellets had been procured from outside.

It is noteworthy that LTTE had not used this device earlier and never used it after that. This was the first case of its kind in the world. It was never possible without the help of foreign powers and experts. It was definitely brought from outside India and Sri Lanka. The highest technique was applied to fabricate it. This IED was of special design. LTTE has a bomb squad and hit squad and it has a number of black 'tigers' and

'tigresses' who are trained to commit suicide to hit and kill the target. But the main thing is to consider who conceived this idea in LTTE? Who made the plan of such IED? It was prepared specially keeping the security arrangement of RG in mind and considering the all relevant factor of RG's rally. The girl assassin was selected because nobody could suspect a girl to be a terrorist, killer and attacker for hitting VIPs. The IED was neither of LTTE nor Indian origin. The fabrication of such an IED was not possible by LTTE alone. It was a design and idea of a foreign power or international conspirators.

Chandra Swamy himself claimed before me (which was deposed by me in the commission) that he had sent Dhanu to kill RG. Thus IED was given to Sivrasan by Chandra Swamy and he is the main conspirator of the wider and international conspiracy.

J Ranganath, accused no. 32 in RG's assassination who had harboured Sivrasan, Subha and other members of the bomb squad in Bangalore, spoke about the involvement of Chandra Swamy on the day of his release from imprisonment in pursuance of the order of the Supreme Court. Ranganath was the only witness who had lived with the leader of the bomb squad Sivrasan before the latter committed suicide to evade arrest. Earlier he was not believed for the reason that he might issue a false statement to evade conviction by the trail court. With the Supreme Court's judgement releasing Ranganath and others as they had spent more time in jail than they were liable to for their offence under the provisions of law, there is no reason to disbelieve him on the ground that he was an accused. He voluntarily revealed the hidden truth, while coming out of the jail gate, before the TV camera. I had watched the TV news bulletin telecasting his interview in which he claimed that he would tell the truth to the whole world.[53]

Congress and BJP both had demanded that MDMA take cognizance of his revelation immediately. I do not know what

he had disclosed before MDMA, but *prima facie* he had supported the statement that I had made before the Jain Commission. It is pertinent to mention here that Justice Jain had believed my evidence and the conspiracy theory while rejecting all other theories. The revelation made by Ranganath does support my evidence, and his statement, which is secret with MDMA, should be considered to fill the gaps and missing links of the probe made by JCI.

Chapter 8

Post-Assassination Scenario

Chander Shekhar was the prime minister and Subramanian Swamy was the law minister when RG was assassinated. They did nothing to unravel the wider conspiracy behind the assassination, which was their bounden responsibility. Seshan had revealed to them the name of the foreign agency MOSSAD. Yasser Arafat had also informed Chander Shekhar about the plot. The press had carried the news that RG's assassination was executed by a national and international plot, but nothing was done by the Shekhar government to probe the wider plot. Shekhar was replaced by PV Narasimha Rao. He had also reason to ask SIT to probe as to who had masterminded the assassination plot. Even his home minister had stated on the floor of Parliament that the superpower (US) was the mastermind behind the assassination. Ratankar Pandey, member of Rajya Sabha, had written to Rao that Chandra Swamy could be behind the plot. Pandey also referred to what he was told by Mahant Sewa Dass Singh regarding the latter's London visit and the disclosure made by Jagjit Singh Chauhan prior to the assassination. Rao did not allow SIT to probe the role of CS even after receiving the letter from Pandey in June 1991. CS's name also appeared in July and August 1991 when he had planted the explosive device in the van of Rajinder Jain as the latter had

the knowledge of CS's involvement. These leads were more than enough to initiate a probe of the wider conspiracy angle. Did Rao do it? Did he direct SIT to take cognizance of it? Though Rao's government set up the commission on 23 August, 1991, the circumstances did warrant to probe the role of CS before the formation of JCI. The conspiracy would have unfolded as early as July or August 1991 if Rao had directed SIT to interrogate his guru godman CS. Instead of probing his role, Rao's government put him on a pedestal and worshipped him as a supreme power. Rao, his council of minister and bureaucrats, all were minions of Chandra Swamy. The opposition leaders also were not different from Rao and his colleagues. CS was also their holy godman. Everyone had the knowledge that CS was a criminal and a senior agent of foreign powers. Industrialists and businessmen were going to him to take some benefits from the government on his recommendation. Thanks to Chander Shekhar's and Narasimha Rao's patronage, CS enjoyed such extra-constitutional powers that he alone approved the appointments to the top constitutional posts like governors, ministers and civil servants to be heads of the departments.

The Congress Party, once led by Pt. Nehru, Indira Gandhi and RG, had become, during the tenure of Rao, a private limited company with CS as its managing director and controller of all equity shares. The party of RG was open to be joined by all who used to criticise RG's policies. It was unbearable to me as I was (and am) a strong spokesperson for RG's ideology. I had joined the BJP from the Congress to unmask the killers but BJP too was a mask of CS. The other national and regional parties also were under CS's spell. I had finished my political career to contest against him on the issue of RG. CS had ruined me in every way. BJP which always claims to be a party of principles, then showed that it sadly lacked them when I deposed against CS before JCI. BJP did not expel me nor did it seek my resignation, but it had done what was claimed by CS before my deposition that

he would get me thrown out of BJP if I deposed against him. BJP had stopped calling me to its meetings. Its leadership was annoyed with me because of my deposition. They remarked that I wanted to project the legacy of Nehru-Gandhi family to speak on the subject of RG's assassination which would give public sympathy to Rajiv's widow and she might lead the governance of the country.

They wanted to make me a scapegoat just as they had made Sheilender Mahato. BJP had inducted Mahato, a sitting member of Parliament, into its fold and took his confessional statement that he had taken a fat bribe from Rao during the confidence motion in the Lok Sabha. BJP then released his statement to the media to damage the Narasimha Rao government and promptly dumped him. The central leadership of BJP was of the view in 1995 that the political scenario might press Sonia Gandhi to campaign for Tiwari Congress, which meant that BJP and Rao's Congress would lose in the race for political power. BJP pressed me to issue a statement that Sonia Gandhi was also associated with CS. They had planned that the allegation against Sonia Gandhi would damage her and the Congress, in which case BJP would sweep the polls. I vehemently opposed their proposal. I told them that they could take whatever action they wanted against me. With utter disregard to the fact that this could sound the death knell of my political career, I decided to depose before the Jain Commission.

Rao's government did not provide me any security whatsoever despite the constant danger to my life. Chandra Swamy had made a plan to give a fat donation to a cow shelter which is situated at Mandothi, a Dalals' village in Haryana in January, 1996. CS had full backing of the Congress and Chautala's party to marginalise me in the Jat belt. He had promised to give several crores of rupees to the society if he was invited by the villagers to chair the annual function. The entire lot of Jat villages were divided on this issue. The majority of them were saying that he should not

be allowed to preside over the function but a minority was insisting to give a rousing welcome to CS as he was donating such a huge amount. CS distributed several crore rupees to several influencial persons of the area. One of the organisers informed me later that CS had asked them to finish me politically as well as physically. He also revealed that CS had a plan to kill me and, before executing it, he wanted to develop good relations with Jat villages so that he would not face much opposition from them in case he got me bumped off through someone from that area. Due to the division among the Jats, two functions were scheduled by the society in January 1996. One was of my supporters and the other was in support of CS. The majority of the villagers were opposing CS and praising me for my efforts to unmask the conspiracy behind RG's assassination. A few days before schedule, it had become clear that CS would not attract much audience whereas we were sure of an attendance of over one lakh villagers. CS was apprised by his organisers that they expected a poor turnout for his rally. Then fire extinguishing action was launched by his publicity wing to bring more people by spreading disinformation that CS would come accompanied by several cabinet ministers, chief ministers, some leading industrialists and film stars. A quick disinformation campaign was spread over the area by them that CS would share the dais with a member of Rajiv's family who would publicly disown the statement I had made before the probe panel. Despite the disinformation campaign, CS failed to draw the crowd. Suddenly he became scared of the opposition by the farmers as Rao was apprised by an intelligence report that CS would be shown black flags by the demonstrators. At this stage, he chickened out and did not arrive causing voluble abuse vented at him by all who had awaited for him.

CS was harassing me in every possible way. He formed a publicity wing, allotting to it a huge amount for a campaign to malign Arjun Singh, Vincent George and me. The

disinformation campaign being propagated by them was that Vincent and Arjun Singh had sent me to the commission to damage Narasimha Rao. I had not met Vincent since April 1990 and I met Arjun Singh for the first time in 1998, which was years after my deposition.

I knew that CS and Rao would face prosecution and that CS would be arrested soon.[17] Rao played his trump card by registering the casè of *Hawala Scam* against top leaders. Despite all their (CS and Rao) efforts, Congress was defeated in the elections. AB Vajpayee replaced Rao for 13 days. He could not prove his majority in the Lok Sabha. RK Hedge was a contender for the post of PM but CS and Rao got Deve Gowda elected as leader of Janata Dal Parliamentary Party. Deve Gowda became the prime minister. He had assured them privately that he would try to protect them. Rao faced prosecution in JMM bribery and St. Kitts cases. Recently he became the first prime minister who is convicted by the court of law in a bribe case. He faced opposition and he was kicked out from the posts of CPP leader and Congress president. CS and Rao had several ministers in Deve Gowda's cabinet who had sympathy with both. As soon as Rao's rule was over CS was arrested and produced before the court by CBI. The court rejected his bail application and sent him to judicial custody. He remained in Tihar Central Jail, New Delhi, for months. Rao's faction in the Congress swung into action for getting CS out of jail on bail, but no one was prepared to furnish the bail bond for any surety amount for CS.

Rao's loyalists in the Congress had sympathy for CS despite the fact that CS was involved in RG's assassination. After several months, Rao and his lieutenants, who were in high ranks in the Congress, managed his bail. They promised to give Mohinder Yadav and others with Congress tickets for assembly elections if they gave their surety for CS's bail. Thus Rao had helped a person who was the pinhead of RG's assassination plot by bailing him out of jail — which hurt me

very much. I sought an appointment from Sonia Gandhi to apprise her of the situation but I failed. I did not mind it because she was not the president of congress at that time. During the presidentship of Sitaram Kesari, the MCD elections were held in Delhi in 1997. I had the will to support the Congress then. I had a large number followers in Delhi who were transporters, labourers and farmers, and I was leading the agitation against BJP. I met some Congress leaders to tell them that I would support the Congress only if the Congress supported RG's cause. They were keen to take my help for winning the election but were evasive on my demands to oust the supporters of CS from the Congress. After meeting Kesari, I concluded that he was dedicated to RG's family but was helpless. Despite my letter to the Congress president, the leadership failed to make up its mind on my demands otherwise the party would have won the MCD election in 1997.

Chacha Kesari gave a rude shock to Rao's faction by inducting Arjun Singh, ND Tiwari and other Sonia Gandhi's supporters in the Congress fold again. This had its own kind of positive fallout for me. Now I had become a Congress well-wisher. It was generally felt in the party and public that replacing Deve Gowda with IK Gujral was not a bad step taken by Kesari as Gowda was a proxy of Rao and CS.

Later an unwelcome situation developed after the leaking of Jain Commission's interim report before tabling it on the floor of Parliament. What could have been the reason behind the inspired leak of commission's interim report? I suspect it was a conspiracy to attack the credibility of the probe panel before its final report.

The Congress shouter brigade had made it an issue to remove DMK from Gujral's government, but the shouter brigade failed to make an issue when it was necessary at the time of submission of the final report by the Jain Commission on the wider conspiracy behind RG's assassination.

The interim report led to the declaration of mid-term Lok Sabha elections. The Congress had a low morale to contest the mid-term parliamentary election of 1998. It was certain that the party would not bag more than 40 or 50 seats and it would disappear permanently from the political scenario as a viable ruling party. There was total anarchy in rank and file of the Congress. Thanks to Sonia Gandhi who declared to campaign for Congress, the party's morale was boosted, which prevented defections from the party. The oldest party of India remained the single largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha because of the charisma of Sonia Gandhi.

The top leaders of Delhi and Haryana, such as Deep Chand Bandhu and HKL Bhagat, both former presidents of Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, and Birender Singh and Shamsher Singh Surjewala, both former presidents of Haryana Pradesh Congress Committee, wrote to Sonia Gandhi to induct me in the Congress and recommended a Lok Sabha seat for me from Sonipat in Haryana in 1998 elections. I had a good following in north India and these leader had suggested that my candidature from Sonipat on Congress symbol would ensure a majority of seats in Delhi, Haryana and other states of the northern region.[34, 38] The Congress leadership, however, did not give any weight to the suggestion made by these leaders to field me for parliamentary election. CS and Rao had put strong pressure on Congress High Command to prevent my entry into the Congress fold. Pranab Mukherjee was another leader who put the barrier before my way to the Congress. Arjun Singh, Oscar Fernandes and Ahmed Patel advised me to join the party. I tried to meet Sonia Gandhi to apprise her that CS and Rao factions in the Congress were opposing my entry into Rajiv's party because of my deposition before JCI. I met Vincent George who told me that my request for appointment to meet Sonia Gandhi was pending and it remained pending.

Just before a week of filing the nominations, the AICC General Secretary Meira Kumar and, ex-Finance Minister

Manmohan Singh, who both were members of the screening committee to select the candidates for Haryana's parliamentary seats, advised that I would be declared the Congress candidate from Sonipat if I joined the party. Next day thousands of my supporters came with me to AICC headquarters where Meira Kumar was to declare my induction into the party. But disciples of CS pressed the Congress leaders to disallow my induction. Meira Kumar apologised to me saying that she had tried her level best for my induction but failed. She requested me to support her in the election from Karol Bagh seat in Delhi where I had a large number of followers. I supported her and she alone won in Delhi on the Congress symbol.

Chaudhary Prem Singh, now speaker of Delhi Assembly and then DPCC president, sought my help to arrange buses for the first rally of Sonia Gandhi in Delhi at Ramlila grounds in 1998 as I was the president of nationwide transport union. I told him that even though Congress did not have any respect for me despite my deposition in trying to unmask the hidden killer of RG, I would provide free buses for Sonia Gandhi's rally to ensure a rousing welcome for her due to my dedication for RG's family. I made a statement to provide free buses.[9] Though CS and Rao lost no opportunity to insult me in the Congress party, I always supported Sonia Gandhi. I used to write letters to her.

As hundreds of my followers met Oscar Fernandes, he wrote a letter to Home Minister LK Advani on 28 August, 1998 to provide me police security.[39] Sonia neither met me nor recommended police security for me despite the fact that my house was set on fire. I always used to hide myself whenever threats were given to kill me. Surprisingly, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution to provide security to Ranganath who was accused in RG's assassination but the party always side-tracked my demand of police security.

The two Swamys — Chandra Swamy and Subramanian Swamy

Chandraswamy with freedom fighter A Chiman Lal at the latter's residence

Ramesh Dalal addressing the All India Congress Workers convention on 6 January, 1987

Villagers blocking the National Highway on 15 August 1995 to protest against the assault on Ramesh Dalal

As I had tried to unmask the power behind the plot to assassinate RG, I curtailed my own liberty to live dangerously and was pushed into political oblivion.

After Sonia Gandhi took over as Congress president, I joined the party and supported her. Another massive rally was arranged before the assembly elections of Delhi, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh in mid-1998. I again supported her rally. I not only brought thousands of my followers to the rally but also provided 272 buses without any cost to Congress through Oscar Fernandes who deputed the present Congress Sewa Dal Chief Hari Prasad to monitor the smooth distribution of the buses to the frontal organisation of the Congress in Delhi.

Despite exploitation and insult, I always continued to support Rajiv's party in expectation of its strong stand on Multi-Disciplinary Monitoring Agency under CBI. I organised a national-level convention of all castes and religions on 16 October, 1998 to ensure the Congress victory in the three north-Indian state assembly elections. I chaired the convention which was very well attended by the representatives from all religions, castes and sub-castes. Though we invited Sonia Gandhi, she could not address it due to her busy schedule. Arjun Singh, Natwar Singh, Sheila Dixit and others addressed it. This meeting chaired by me unanimously issued a *phatwa* (directive) to defeat the BJP in the coming elections.[41] A resolution that the conspirators behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi should be prosecuted was approved by the meeting. Earlier I had written a letter to the heads of all political parties for tabling the commission's report. I received a letter of receipt from V Ramamurthy, then petroleum minister and president of Tamil Jhaga Rajiv Congress.[40]

Just after convention, CS and Rao became very active. I found CS's close aides sitting in AICC office. I knew that Rao wanted to arrange the assembly tickets for those Congressmen who had assisted CS during his days of judicial custody. I wrote a letter to Sonia Gandhi informing her in

advance that CS would get the ticket allotted to his devotees. I also sent the copy of this letter to Vincent George and other senior leaders of the party. I was surprised to see the Delhi assembly list of Congress nominees. Despite my advance information with complete evidence, Rao and CS had managed to get the Congress tickets alloted to Mohinder Yadav who had furnished the surity for CS's bail in the court.[42] It was totally unbearable to me that Rajiv's party had allotted its symbol to a person who had furnished the surety bond in the court of law for granting the bail to CS who had conspired to kill RG. I wrote a letter to Sonia Gandhi on 13 November, 1998 requesting her to withdraw the Congress ticket to Mohinder Yadav. I also explained that it would give support to the killers of RG and it would be impossible for me to give my statement to MDMA if she did not take action on this letter. It had very serious impact on Rajiv's cause because Chaudhary Mukhtayar Singh, former metropolitan councillor, a top functionary of DPCC and a dedicated follower of RG, was denied to contest the election from Palam to allot the ticket to Yadav. Instead of patronising the followers of RG, the Congress had its doors wide open to welcome the devotees of Rajiv's killer.

I called a press conference in November 1998 to apprise Sonia Gandhi that she was being misguided by her husband's foes. Despite it no action was taken. I had become worried that Sonia Gandhi herself would face danger from them very soon. I always warned her through my letters. On 5 June, 1999, I wrote a letter to Prime Minister AB Vajpayee requesting him to provide more security to Sonia, Rahul and Priyanka.

I informed Sonia Gandhi by my letter dated 5 June, 1999 that she would face challenge to her leadership because I had reliable information to that effect. I also sought time to meet her. The first time she met me. I apprised her of the danger to her and her children's life. The meeting was very short and therefore we both could not discuss the issue of MDMA.

My apprehension that Sonia Gandhi would face a challenge from CS and his associates became true when CS visited Punjab and met the head priest Giani Puran Singh and other old associates of Jarnail Singh Bhindrawala, who prevented Sonia's entry in the Akaal Takht. CS advocated for the release or terrorist booked under TADA and declared that Sonia Gandhi would have no political future.[45]

The nexus between CS and CIA wants to finish Sonia Gandhi. The dissidents in Congress sometimes play in the hands of foreign powers. There was a plan to field Rajesh Pilot against Sonia Gandhi for the presidentship of AICC. Rao and CS were busy to contact the dissident leaders of the Congress to bring them under one umbrella. Pilot was assured by Rao that he would get him elected Congress President. Now the young leader is dead in a road accident but CS's man claims (probably to threaten me) that they had got him killed instead of it being an accident. I had passed on this information and suggested to Sonia Gandhi how to overcome the present opposition to her. I also wrote to Sonia Gandhi that she would face a challenge to her leadership.[55] SS, CS, Rao and others always attacked Arjun Singh but this time they attacked V George. They pressed Abhishak Verma to implicate Mr and Mrs V George in offences under FERA. CS has been trying to harm me since 1991. After my deposition before JCI in 1995, he tried several times to implicate me in false cases and attempted to kill me. Despite his pressure tactics and offer of a huge amount for keeping my mouth shut, I never changed my version since May, 1991 when RG was killed by a plot masterminded by CS.

I was fielded by the Congress from Bahadurgarh constituency of Haryana assembly in February, 2000. The Congress there was at the third place in last assembly elections in 1996 and it was being considered the weakest seat for any Congress nominee. The Lok Dal had given its ticket to Sheela Devi. Chautala declared the killer Nafe Singh to be his nominee instead of the lady candidate after knowing

about me as being the Congress nominee. Chautala knew that he could not get me defeated in a fair and impartial poll. He therefore fielded Nafe Singh who was convicted in a case of murdering his neighbour and had been awarded life imprisonment. I raised an objection before the returning officer (RO) at the stage of scrutiny of nominations under Section 8(3) of Representation of People Act revealing that a proclaimed killer was disqualified to contest the election under the provisions of the Act. A person who has been convicted with more than two years of imprisonment is liable to be disqualified to be chosen for assembly and parliament. My victory was clear from the day of nomination but CS, Rao and Chandra Swamy became united to ensure my defeat by unlawful means. The senior superintendent of police provided personal security officers (PSOs) with modern weapons to my rival candidate, while the police provided me a single PSO after 12 days of the campaign period. This was contrary to the provisions of fair election as all candidates were supposed to be provided with adequate security cover. Chautala, Rao and CS spent crores of rupees and they brought two chief ministers, Chandra Babu Naidu and Farooq Abdullah, to address the public meeting in favour of the known assassin Nafe Singh. But they got a setback when the turnout of public was poor in their rally while my election meetings were well attended. CS and Chautala arranged for several killers from outside and they threatened to kill the Congress supporters. I came to know of it and, a few days before the polling schedule of 22 February, 2000, I wrote a letter to CEC and informed it that the killers would harm anyone to spoil my election prospects.[43] I also wrote to SSP and RO to deploy CRPF personnel instead of Chautala's Haryana Police. On the polling day, they openly captured the booths with the help of local police. They rigged the booths on a large scale. I found SHO Ramchander himself accompanying the killer squads everywhere. I objected to it before the RO but he did not take any action. I sent a fax to

AICC about the flagrant booth capturing with the connivance of the police and electoral officers. AICC General Secretary Oscar Fernandes immediately wrote a letter to CEC MS Gill to intervene.[44] Two hours before the polling was over the chief minister himself visited the constituency and directed the government machinery as well as the party workers to caste bogus votes in favour of his candidate. There was turmoil. Congressmen were beaten up by the police and the criminals were allowed to caste bogus votes. The violence spread over the city. Innocent voters were beaten by the police force. The SHO himself had ordered the hired hooligans to fire on me on the polling day. The people agitated over it and they sat on a *dharna* demanding the arrest of the culprits and repoll in some booths.

I found myself surrounded by killers with unlicensed weapons under the patronage of police. The driver of my vehicle had fled away and Virender Singh, an advocate who happened to be there, took over the driving seat and drove the Tata Sumo at high speed to protect my life. Rajesh Kumar, the police constable deployed for my security, made a complaint to the senior superintendent of police revealing that his weapon was old and inoperative so he could not open fire to disperse the attackers. He also revealed that he had protected his and my life by making me lie down on the carpet of the vehicle during the firing on me.

Despite public protest, the police did not register a case against the accused who had opened fire on me. The people became more agitated because Chautala had conspired to kill me due to my disclosure statement regarding the wider conspiracy before JCI. Next day people blocked the national highway at Bahadurgarh protesting that the police itself had attempted to kill me. I tried to pacify the agitators but in between the police arrested me and my brothers and beat us publicly. Chautala implicated me in false cases of the polling day incident. The police entered the Congress office

and broke all the furniture, and took the TV and rupees 152,000. The police had beaten elderly persons who were more than 70 years. It did not spare even the school children. There was total anarchy.[46]

People became so scared of the police that they went to hide in other areas. Police was also deployed at hospitals to prevent the medical examination of those who were wounded by the police.

Despite their bogus votes, the people had a belief that I would win the election, but the police broke the seal of ballot boxes and changed the votes. At the time of counting of votes after two days on 25 February, 2000, I was present there in police custody and the counting was partial. Bahadurgarh alone was an assembly seat where round-wise result was not declared to the election commission as well as the media. As soon as the result indications of other seats were available after the first round, it had appeared that Chautala's party would get the majority, the counting agents started to favour my rival candidates and the result of every round was censored.

TV and radio bulletins were giving the latest position after every round of counting for all assembly constituencies except Bahadurgarh. In the night, suddenly the returning officer declared my rival candidate to be elected by the margin of 1648 votes while actually I had won the election. I objected to RO and the observers but they only said that I should be happy for securing about 37,000 votes which were polled for the first time by the Congress in the assembly election and that the Congress used to bag barely one-third of my polled votes. Though my election has no relevance with the conspiracy to assassinate RG, yet it is relevant because CS, Rao, SS and Chautala had played a big role in the election due to my deposition before JCI. The police had beaten up thousands of innocent voters without any rhyme or reason. This assembly election was evidence that the killers of RG would not only harm me but also my supporters. Haryana

Pradesh Congress Committee did not take cognizance of the incident because the state Congress leaders treated me as the man of Sonia Gandhi. All the Congress leaders issued their statements against the corruption cases registered against HVP and Congress leaders but they did not show their sympathy towards thousands of Congress supporters in Bahadurgarh who were beaten and injured by the police force. The victims of police lathicharge were of the view that it was the first time in their life that they had cast their votes for the Congress and the party had failed to protect their liberty. More than 20 fixed ration shops of Congress workers were cancelled and all the persons who had Congress flags on the roof top were being implicated in false cases. The situation was so bad that people were afraid even to speak in favour of the Congress. The question that arises is — why was this area targeted? Why liberty was curtailed? Just after the election the SHO had opened fire on me and I was saved by a local advocate. My only offence was that I had opened my mouth against the plotter who had masterminded the assassination of RG, and the offence of the people of this area was their support and affection for me.

HPCC has failed to provide legal aid to the poor who are facing the charge of blocking the road in support of the Congress and against unlawful rigging of polling booths. I have filed an election petition in Chandigarh High Court against the elected candidate as he was disqualified to be elected as per section 8(3) of the Representation of People Act. Now the matter is sub judice awaiting the order of High Court, but Nasib Singh, my advocate and former deputy speaker of Punjab Assembly, is sure that his election would be set aside.

Even during the course of writing this book. Both the Swamys tried to harass me and my family through Chief Minister Chautala in Haryana. Under pressure, Haryana Police registered a false case of heinous crime vide FIR No. 135/2000 U/S 307 IPL against my brothers for attempting

to murder by opening fire. For 10 days, SHO Dayanand kept visiting my house and torturing even my old father. Thanks to God, a senior officer suddenly visited the police station and found the SHO drunk. The SHO even attacked on his senior and therefore he was suspended and arrested. Later, the SP found that it was a false case to harass my family. Despite the pressure from Chautala, the police withdrew the case informing the judge that it was false case against my family. This is only one example of how they tried to prevent me to publish this book.

After the publication of this book, the days of my life may be numbered, but it shall be a record in future that Nehru-Gandhi legacy is finished by US forever in India to make it a weak country. It should be seen in the context of a rejuvenated Congress which brought the result of the formation of Congress governments in Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and Rajasthan in 1998. It was a warning to the USA and its agents — CS, Rao and SS. Their publicity wing swung into action and it was publicised through press media that Sonia could not lead the country so that Congress should be weakened and Nehru-Gandhi legacy would be marginalised. The NDA government will not continue very long because their partners like MDMK and PMK are secessionists who would continue to blackmail the government on the issue of their regional demands.

The Congress cannot be rejuvenated till CS has the remote control of the party. I appeal to Congress workers nation-wide to identify the pro-CS elements and kick out the insects who are eating the roots of Congress.

Despite my best efforts in RG's case, the Congress does not think about my safety. I had a wish to collect further evidence for filling the gaps and missing links of conspiracy theory recommended by the Jain Commission, but I stopped myself the day Congress gave its symbol to Mohinder Yadav who had furnished the bail surety for CS on the instance of Rao.[42] The persons who were loyalist to RG's cause were

marginalised so that their morale could be brought down and it was smoothly done to protect the killers. It also hurts me when SS claims that Sonia Gandhi disapproved the ATR. Neither she nor AICC spokesperson have contradicted this statement. It gives benefit to the hidden killer of RG. Congress included the findings of the Jain Commission in its election manifesto of 1998 and 1999 and said that the party was dedicated to RG's cause, but no monitoring cell by AICC was formed to deal with the problems related to the cause due to pressure on the government from US and CS. MDMA may close the probe and the mystery of RG's assassination which is beginning to be unfolded may remain a mystery forever. It is very shameful that the self-proclaimed supporters of RG are not only silent on his cause but are also playing in the hands of his killers. No Congress leader can explain why they alloted the Congress ticket to Mohinder Yadav when he had no standing in the party and had been charged with assaulting a woman.

The present government of AB Vajpayee is not doing anything to unearth the hidden little parts of the conspiracy as recommended by the Jain Commission. I also face a threat to my life and in spite of my repeated requests, the home minister is pressurised not to provide me police security by the same BJP leaders who had pressed me not to depose against CS before the Jain Commission. The unpleasant fact is that while the Constitution of the country does not allow discrimination, the executive does adopt a discriminatory policy.

Chapter 9

Unprobed Leads

UNPROBED AREA

To reject the conspiracy beyond LTTE would a stupidity. The probe of a conspiracy depends on the investigation officer (IO). During the probe the IO sometimes might overlook or ignore the available evidence or may not correlate it with other corroborative evidences. RG's case is not different; SIT did not proceed towards the dark area. No more investigation was done about Athirai alias A Chanderlekha alias Sonia alias Gowri. Sivrasan had a plan to send her to Delhi. He sent her grandfather Kanagasabapathy through a sympathiser to arrange a hideout in Delhi and thereafter to take Chanderlekha there. SIT chargesheet is completely silent as to why the leader of the bomb squad was sending her to Delhi. What was the plan — whether he wanted to arrange his hideout after killing RG or had he a plan to kill RG in Delhi?

This query should be probed by MDMA. There may be two possibilities: (a) Sivrasan had a plan to use Chanderlekha as another human bomb to kill RG, and (b) he wanted her to settle in their Delhi hideout after the assassination. If it was so, it would not be possible without patronage from somebody very high up in Delhi. If that was the case, the

involvement of some person or agency other than LTTE becomes a certainty. The intercepted wireless messages suggest that the human bomb Dhanu had no knowledge of her suicidal attack on RG till two weeks ago before the assassination.[49] They had another girl Chanderlekha whom they could use as human bomb. Sivrasan was fixing her in Delhi and, therefore, there was a strong possibility that the hidden plotter had a plan to use her as a human bomb in Delhi or other places in India. SIT did not probe this. MDMA needs to probe it because the possibility gets further strengthened due to the evidence of LTTE cadres proceeding to Jaipur simultaneously.

There is evidence that LTTE political wing leader Kasi Anandan had met RG on 5 March, 1991. Later, Arjuna sithampalam, a London-based LTTE banker, with the approval of Kittu and Prabhakaran, had met RG through Narasimha Rao. It is claimed by SIT that they had met RG to fathom whether he still had his old approach towards LTTE or had he changed his views. If LTTE had found him unchanged, it possibly could have planned to assassinate RG only after March, 1991 after this meeting. If it was so, the chargesheet is wrong when it claims that LTTE had started to execute its plan to assassinate RG from September 1990 when the first group of LTTE consisting of Vijayan, his wife Selvalaxmi and his father-in-law Bhaskaran, who were all accused in the Rajiv assassination case, reached Rameshwaram, Tamil Nadu, as refugees from Sri Lanka on 12 September, 1990. The second group of Jayakumar and his wife Shanthi, both also accused, landed in India after a week of the first group's arrival. It may be recalled that LTTE operatives travelled very frequently between India and Sri Lanka after LTTE had established its network in India in 1983. Its network spread after the formation of VP Singh's government at the centre and Karunanidhi's government in Tamil Nadu in 1990. Merely on the basis of the co-accused's arrival in India in 1990, we cannot say that Vijayana's and

Jayakumar's families had come to India to assassinate RG. The human bomb squad landed in India on 2 May, 1991. It is therefore reasonable to say that the conspirary was hatched in March end or April, 1991.

It was also possible that the accused might have come to India for some other reason and later joined the conspiracy after March 1991. Sivrasan had masterminded the assassination of EPRLF leader Padmnabhan on 19 June, 1990, and the arrival of first two groups could be for killing someone else too. The evidence suggests that LTTE started to execute its plan after the declaration of elections in March 1991. Considering the circumstances and the evidence, the theory that LTTE had hatched a conspiracy to assassinate RG in 1990 does not hold water. LTTE did have a plan to kill RG till 1989 during his prime ministership, but it dropped the plan after his defeat in the election. This is corroborated by the fact that RG was unharmed during his frequent visits to Tamil Nadu. Pre-assassination circumstances do suggest that the assassination plot was revived after the possibility of RG emerging as the prime minister became loud and clear.

The dark area to probe is from where the idea to assassinate RG originated and what circumstances gave birth to the plan. LTTE had tried to bridge the gap between them and RG. According to the available evidence, RG and LTTE had agreed not to harp on the past and both had hoped for friendship. RG's meeting with them is itself evidence that he had no prejudice in his mind against LTTE. These circumstances suggest that LTTE had adopted the plan of some other party who had offered LTTE much more benefits and support than RG. LTTE is a disciplined (though terrorist) organisation and its decisions are never hasty and without consideration of the consquences. LTTE knew that the assassination would deprive it of the sympathy and help from India. The apprehsion of LTTE being marginalised by RG's becoming the prime minister led to his assassinaiton is not sustainable because the opposition to LTTE after his murder

would be more due to there being a Congress government. This plan of LTTE was suicidal for its goal of Tamil Eelam and its organisation unless it had enormous backing of a powerful third force.

The chargesheet filed by SIT was silent on many aspects and therefore one may conclude that the investigation was incomplete. There are two major questions which do warrant answers: (a) Who had fabricated the IED and was it of foreign origin? (b) When and where was the conspiracy hatched and who were involved to plan the wider conspiracy?

IED was used by Dhanu but who had handed it over to her is not clear. The wider conspiracy was executed by a bomb squad under the leadership of Sivrasan but who had made and supervised the plan did not appear in the investigation.

If it had come to the notice of SIT, may be the investigation along with the related evidence was dropped under pressure or bribe because it focussed on some very high-ups in and outside the government.

That the belt bomb was given to LTTE by CS as claimed by Rajinder Jain should be investigated by MDMA. Even CS had told me out of bravado that he had sent Dhanu to kill RG and he had been financing LTTE, which was revealed by me to the probe panel. The confession made by CS confirms that he was the person to give the belt bomb to LTTE. His frequent visits to Madras should be probed to find out where he had stayed and whom had he met in Madras. According to my information he had visited Tamil Nadu several times before the assassination and sometimes SS also happened to be there. CS felt uneasy when he was asked to name his contacts in Tamil Nadu during his testimony because these names were of LTTE high-ups.

According to Tiruchi Velusamy, the former aide to Subramanian Swamy, his boss was in Madras two days before RG's assassination. SS gives the explanation that he was there in the election campaign while his former aide claims

that he had discussed the conspiracy with two Tamil militants at the Trident hotel opposite Madras airport in the morning of the assassination day. Thereafter, he had gone to meet CS who was staying at Sinduri Hotel, from where they went in two separate cars to Bangalore. A chartered flight from Bangalore took them to Delhi. This revelation of Subramanian Swamy's close aide is significant. MDMA should investigate the movements of both the Swamys before and after the assassination. Velusamy had claimed before the commission that he had tried to get in touch on phone with his boss SS in Delhi because of latter's trip to Tiruchi on 22 May, 1991 for the election campaign was cancelled in the morning of the fateful day. Mrs Subramanian Swamy had told him that SS was still in Madras. Justice Jain rejected Veluswamy's this claim observing that SS might be in the flight when his aide had telephoned him at Delhi. So it can be said that Justice Jain rejected his claim on the basis of possibility. But his close aide revealed more categorically after the submission of the Jain Commission's report. His aid claims now that on the same day, i.e. 21 May, 1991, he had spoken to Subramanian Swamy at 10.10 p.m. and the first thing Swamy had told him was: "I know you are telephoning me to say that RG is killed..." His aide got a shock and revealed that, at that time, the news about the assassination had not been heard because RG was officially declared dead only at 10.45 p.m.!

Now after the clarification and new revelation of Velusamy, MDMA should investigate when had SS landed in Delhi on 21 May, 1991 and by which flight? MDMA must also collect the evidence whether he returned from Madras or Bangalore.

The above suspicious movement of SS became more serious on the basis of government information. The commission had sought the information about his whereabouts on 18 to 21 May, 1991. Earlier the government had replied: "File is missing". Latter the personal secretary to the

minister of state for commerce had informed that as per the record of the ministry as ascertained by the joint secretary (admn.), the movement of Swamy was as under:

> It is ascertained that Subramanian Swamy, as Minister of Commerce, Law and Justice, travelled to Bombay from Delhi on 18th May, 1991 by flight IC 167. He departed Bombay for Madras on 19.5.1991 by flight IC 671. He departed Madras for Delhi by flight IC 440 departing at 0600 hours and arriving at 0945 hours.

The government official had concealed the date of his arrival from Madras to Delhi, but subsequently he informed the commission by his letter dated 15 December, 1997 that, "The date of departure from Madras to Delhi may be noted as 21 May, 1991" It can be said, when we consider the above, that even government departments were not sure about his arrival and they were casual about it. According to my view, there may have been an advance booking of SS to come from Madras to Delhi on 21 May, 1991 but it can be possible that he had come by a chartered plane from Bangalore with CS on the same day without cancelling his ticket.

Later SS claimed that he was in Delhi on 21 May, 1991 and had conducted a press conference in Delhi. But his aide says: "He wanted to create an alibi, the press conference was covered by an agency. No newspaper correspondent attended it. It may be another of Swamy's plants."

Swamy, in response to his allegation, says that he was speaking on behalf of Natrajan, husband of Jayaliltha's friend Sasikala, while his aide describes him as "an extremely clever man and (is) smart enough not to leave any trail or evidence behind." He further adds:"But I am convinced about his involvement in the assassination!"

I must say it is immaterial whether he was in Madras or Delhi. The assassination could have been arranged from Delhi too.

Despite it, his own acts expose him and indicate that he and CS both had the prior knowledge of RG's assassination. I had deposed that a few days before the assassination Chandra Swamy had said that the election would be postponed due to the assassination of a big leader. This information does get corroboration from Subramanian Swamy's decision to cancel his election campaign scheduled for 22 May, 1991 in Tamil Nadu. It would mean that he had prior knowledge of the assassination and, therefore, he cancelled his trip.

MDMA must probe the reason behind the cancellation of the meeting, though SS writes in his book that he had cancelled his scheduled visit for two reasons: first, the candidate of Madurai, where he had to address a meeting, was not contesting from his party and second, Mulayam Singh Yadav had asked him that fateful day to represent him the next day before the Election Commission.

SS is completely wrong and he tells the lie to evade arrest because he had to leave for addressing the election meeting of his close aide Veluswamy in Tiruchi who was contesting on his party's symbol. Swamy's conduct from beginning does suggest that MDMA should interrogate him in police custody if the agency wants to conclude its probe.

Another important evidence is the audio tape of Rajinder Jain regarding his conversation with then Law Minister HR Bharadwaj. Jain is no more alive and, therefore, SIT should interogate Bharadwaj to unearth the conspiracy behind the audio tape. This tape could have been fabricated by Rajinder Jain and Bharadwaj with the blessing of CS, SS, Chautala and Rao. It is also possible that Bharadwaj fabricated it by the consent of all the above to tarnish the credibility of the Jain Commission so that the commission would be wound up before it completed the probe.

This tape was also fabricated to defame Arjun Singh and to convince Sonia Gandhi that Arjun Singh would dump her to be the prime minister. I had addressed a press conference

after this flimsy move and told the reporters that I did not know Bharadwaj and I had never met him (I haven't till today!).

I suspect Bharadwaj and Rao both because the former had spoken completely against Rao in the taped conversation disclosing that he was involved in the conspiracy to topple his government and to implicate him falsely in the Jain Commission. Rao had enough reason to dismiss the Law Minister Bharadwaj if the audio tape was true. The post-audio-tape circumstances do indicate that Rao had directed his minister to fabricate the tape and, due to this reason, he did not dismiss him despite the fact that it highlighted a conspiracy to topple his government.

The truth behind this tape will certainly unmask some persons for their involvement in the assassination of RG or for their relation with the plotter and LTTE. Bharadwaj's silence on it gives several reasons to suspect him. Why did he not come forward to say whether the audio tape about his conversation was true or false If it was false, whom does he suspect to have fabricated it? They had made totally false allegations against me, Justice Jain, Arjun Singh, RN Mittal and others. MDMA must interrogate Bharadwaj to unmask the fabrication.

The probe agency should also probe what benefits and money was given to LTTE before and after the assassination. LTTE received major arms shipments and it turned to a regular army from a terrorist group after the assassination. Who had paid the huge amount for such massive consignment of weoponry and equipment as LTTE had been weakened financially after the IPKF mission in Sri Lanka lasting three years?[56]

The above query becomes relevant in the light of known fact that the guerillas were not getting arms from anywhere since 1987. With the continuing fight between LTTE and IPKF, the guerillas faced financial crisis. In the light of the above, how had LTTE managed to acquire the finance to the

tune of over 100 million US dollars. Interestingly, SIT chargesheet did not cover the financial aspects of LTTE. MDMA should unearth the hidden financiers of LTTE. It should not only probe the financial transactions made through the Bank of Credit Commerce International (BCCI) but also those made through other banks. The available materials and evidences do establish that LTTE was promised a huge amount of money as well as weaponry consignment. The involvement of CIA also emerges in the light of some intelligence reports before the assassination that KP was discussing with CIA to have massive weaponry equipments to increase LTTE's strength.[29-33] LTTE had lost its network in India as well as Indian help after the assassination. Despite this loss,LTTE became strong instead of weakening which needs to be probed.

SS had claimed before Rajani Rajan Sahu that Parbhakaran did not undertake such a job without money and the money was more than 100 crore rupees to motivate Parbhakaran for the assassination. SS told him that there was the possibility of foreign hand in RG' killing. But now he changes his stand in his book claiming that LTTE alone had killed RG.

A serious question does arise to probe the role of the former Director General of Police, Andhra Pradesh, M V Thomas, an IPS officer. He had voluntarily appeared before the commission as a witness and earlier used to attend the proceedings of the commission. He deposed that KGB and Abu Nidal had killed RG through LTTE. He told the lie purposely and had spent a huge amount on his move. Such senior IPS officer would not come to mislead the probe without some backing. MDMA must probe who had compelled him to depose falsely. Though this is a post-assassination matter, yet the probe may reveal whether he was sent by CS, SS, Rao and CIA?

SIT investigation claims that the LTTE had spent the money to execute the assassination plot by selling gold

biscuits. There is a coded message that Sivrasan received three kg gold from Trichy Santahn 20 days after the assassination.[49] SIT could not find out as who had delivered this gold to LTTE cadres in Tamil Nadu. It is possible that the persons and agencies other than LTTE had delivered this gold as per their design. MDMA should probe whether there was any relation between the gold biscuits of CS recovered from Duli Chand in Delhi and the gold delivered to Sivrasan. CS himself had told me that he financed Prabhakaran. SIT failed to mention anything in the chargesheet filed before the court.

Rajinder Jain had given me a telephone call on the fateful night at about 10.35 p.m. Getting the information within minutes was not possible unless SC had received a call from someone at the crime site in Sriperumbudur. The time of the call is a strong evidence to prove that Prabhakaran and CS had deputed someone to monitor the blast. Whether Sivrasan was aware of this move is not known. CS had confessed before me that he had sent the human bomb Dhanu to kill RG. He had told me a few days before the election at his *ashram* that the election would be postponed because any top leader might be killed. He had prior knowledge because he had indicated the assassination. Rajinder Jain had revealed to me that KP and Kittu both were CS's disciples, and all the three were interacting with each other about the plot. KP is an arms procurer having several passports and was a old visitor to CS. Kittu and KP, who manages the LTTE shipping company, used to meet him abroad as well as in India. Both had a number of contacts in Delhi, Madras and Bombay. According to intelligence reports, KP was in India during the period of RG's assassination. MDMA should probe where he stayed and whom he met? After the name of LTTE appeared in the assassination, he flew abroad because he was scared of his arrest.

It is a story of lapse upon lapse by the intelligence agency. It poses a big question why they could not know the relation

between Chandra Swamy, KP, Kittu and JS Chauhan. LTTE and Chauhan became united after the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement.[24-26] CS had old relations with Chauhan but he also developed his relation with LTTE when he was conspiring with CIA to finish RG either politically or physically in the eighties. Despite the fact that CS had gone abroad hundreds of times spending 300 crore rupees, the Rao government and IB did not follow him and failed (intentionally) to gather the information regarding his association with the underworld in India and abroad.

Chautala and CS both had visited London in March 1991 to discuss the conspiracy with Chauhan and Kittu but RAW did not send any report despite the fact of surveillance by Haryana Police at the residence of RG had been exposed. RAW can give some excuse or explanation for this lapse but it cannot give any explanation of its failure to probe why Chautala had stayed abroad for several months after the assassination. MDMA should probe the purpose of the prolonged visit and his whereabouts and movements abroad. How much foreign exchange had he taken before leaving and who had borne his expenses abroad? Indeed MDMA can get a positive lead in unveiling the conspriacy if it collects the evidence of Chautala's, SS's and CS's relation with Kittu and Chauhan in London and what notes were played by them jointly.

LTTE had high level contacts not only in the Congress but in other political parties also. They had a plan to assassinate RG during IPKF's deployment in Sri Lanka. There was an intelligence news that LTTE would welcome RG by a garland of bullets. The intelligence reports of 1988 suggest that LTTE had knowledge of RG's visit to Tamil Nadu about 20 days in advance. It proves they had liaison either with the ministers or the government officers. If LTTE had access to confirm RG's tour programme 20 days in advance during his prime ministership, it would have been much easier for

them to ascertain his tour programme when he was out of power.

A probe is further required in the security lapses of RG regarding his tour. Who had advised him to address the rally at Sriperumbudur despite the following

> There were apprehensions of attack on RG from terrorist groups anywhere and in any manner, most probably unconventional. The threat to his life had increased after the declaration of elections and the almost certain possibility of his coming back to power.

Why had not SS and Chander Sekhar ordered for RG's tight security after getting the information about the threats to his life? Even his going to Sriperumbudur is wrapped in a mystery. It seems that RG was compelled to go there. MDMA may probe into it on the basis of the leads provided by the Verma Commission that was set up to investigate the security lapses in RG's assassination.

MDMA must break this secret. Mrs Margatham Chander Shekhar might not have been involved in the conspiracy, but she should come forward and say who had suggested or compelled her to bring RG to Sriperumbudur.

It was the duty of the organisers to introduce the persons who had wanted to garland RG to the police. Further it was the duty of Tamil Nadu Police to check the garlands and the persons by using metal detectors and by other methods before their standing in the queue on the red carpet near the dais. It was solely the duty of the police to look after these arrangements. One of the organisers, AJ Doss ex-MLC, vehemently denied that he had recommended 23 more persons to offer garlands to RG and claimed that only about 10 people of Congress and AIDMK were introduced to the police for garlanding RG. MDMA should probe whether Dhanu was introduced by the organisers or someone else to the police and why had the police allowed Dhanu to stand

in the line with the garland? SIT remained silent on this important clue.

I, being in the political field and having experience of such election meetings, say that Dhanu could never have reached to stand in the line of the persons who were to garland RG without the help of either the organisers of the meeting or the police. The Inspector General of Police R K Raghuvan, who was supervising the security arrangements at Sriperumbudur, said that after the organisers had introduced him to the persons who were to greet RG with garlands, more persons were added in his absence. He claimed that earlier there were only three persons whose garlands were duly checked with metal detectors and were kept under custody of one police officer. Later when Raghuvan came again to the meeting site, his SP told him about 23 persons who were added to offer garlands and towels to RG. He claimed that these persons were added by the organisers despite the objection of his SP. He claimed that they had checked these new persons too.

As for security is concerned, he said that the police could not be held responsible because the organisers had not cooperated with the police. Keeping in view the different claims by the two parties — the police and the organisers — a thorough probe is required to know the kind of security provided and ascertain who was responsible for the lapses. As the matter relates to a former prime minister, the possibility of bribe being offered and accepted either by the police or by someone among the organisers cannot be ruled out. Who had helped Dhanu and other members of human bomb squad at the meeting site is still a mystery. Without the patronage of some influencial person related to meeting, it was totally impossible for Dhanu, strapped with battery, wires, steel pellets, RDX and IED's trigger, to come so close to RG.

IB had informed the prime minister on 22 May, 1991, about a video film having vital evidence, but SIT denied its

existence and produced some cassettes which were obviously edited to distort the evidence. The Verma Commission observed that "it can be avoided in this enquiry, but may have significance in some other proceeding". MDMA should investigate who had tempered with the evidence and prosecute the guilty.

Srikumar, DIG of SIT, had gone to London to probe the wider conspiracy. His briefcase was stolen and he had returned empty-handed. MDMA should take note this incident and try to find out whether the Sikh militants or LTTE was behind it.

SS has raised some law queries to which I want to refer to check their relevancy. He writes in his book:

> The third violation of the law was as gross. No commission of enquiry has any right to recommend prosecution or interrogation of any individual. A Constitution Bench order of the Supreme Court delivered by Chief Justice SR Das in the famous Dalmia case held: "But seeing that the commission of enquiry has no judicial powers and its report will purely be recommendatory and not effective *proprio vigor* and the statement made by any person before the Commission of Enquiry is, under Section 6 of the Act, wholly inadmissible in evidence in any future proceedings, civil or criminal, there can be no point in the Commission of Inquiry making recommendations for taking any action as and by way of securing redress or punishment. Having regard to all these considerations it appears to us that only that portion of the last part of Clause (10) (of Terms of Reference) which calls upon the Commission of Inquiry to make recommendations about the action to be taken as and by way of securing, redress or punishment cannot be said to be all necessary for or ancillary to the purpose of the Commission" (AIR 1958 SC 538).

Swamy obeserves: "If the Jain Commission report is invalid on this score, the Action Taken Report (ATR) falls with it."

Swamy has quoted this part of the judgment of Supreme Court to issue disinformation to damage the probe being carried by MDMA. Justice Jain never recommended any punishment or action against any person.

Justice Jain only recommeded to probe further in some matters and the role of the individuals against whom incriminating evidence had come on the record before the commission. The Supreme Court clearly holds that the commission's report will purely be recommendatory. The report is entirely in the form of recommendations.

Swamy, the former law minister, again interpreted wrongly oberving as under:

> It is well established in law that a Commission's findings have no evidentiary value in a trial of a criminal case, e.g., in Sham Kant vs. State of Maharashtra [(1992) Supp. (2) SCC 521 at page 532)]. Justice S Ratnavel Pandian held that the finding of the Commission of Inquiry were "not binding on this Court when the Court has arrived to its own conclusion on the independent assessment of the presuasive evidence..."

Swamy quotes the above ruling of the court but he does not apply it to the commission's report. Justice Jain's findings do not vary from the assessment of the trial court. Justice Jain had recommended that a supplementary chargesheet could be filed against some other person whose role had come to light in the investigation and SIT had failed to add it in the chargesheet. Justice Jain did never condemn SIT or the designated court.

Swamy once again gives contradictory interpretation of an observation of the Supreme Court in the case of a commission probing corruption charges against a former chief minister of Bihar, KB Sahay. The Supreme Court had held: "If the charges are vague or speculative suggesting a fishing expedition, we would have paused to consider whether such an enquiry should be allowed to proceed." (AIR 1969, SC 258 to 262).

In consideration of the above view of the Supreme Court, the Jain Commission did not give credence to a vague or speculative version of theory of any witness. Subramanian Swamy himself had sent ex-DGP MV Thomas on the vague and speculative theory in order to mislead the commission and his attempt was to divert the attention from CIA to KGB in probe of the one-man panel. Justice Jain had not only rejected his theory but also observed that Thomas had remained in the police service as an IPS officer and retired as the DGP and it was expected of him that he would not rely on any vision or oracle. Swamy should recollect that Justice Jain had rejected several vague theories. Swamy should be grateful to Justice Jain because he had rejected the allegation levelled against him by Ranjan Sahu, member of Parliament, on the same ground.

Swamy does not put the brakes on his unchecked behaviour to abuse the partiality of Jain Commission's proceedings and its report. He further says in his book:

> Sixth and lastly, a commission's report is very much open to judicial review. It can be quashed by the High Court or the Supreme Court if, among other things, it has failed to abide by the rules of evidence or if its reasoning is grossly illogical. The Privy Council set aside the report of a New Zealand Royal Commission set up under the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1908. It applied the established rules of evidence, that is, "...the person making a finding...must base his decision upon evidence that has some probative value... What is required..is that the finding must be based upon some material that tends logically to show the existence of facts consistent with the finding and that the reasoning supportive of the finding, if it be disclosed, is not logically self-contradictory."

Swamy exposes himself. He spent two years or more to write this book but he did not file a petition either before the High

Court or the Supreme Court for quashing the commission's report if he felt that Justice Jain did not apply the principles of law. Once I met a senior advocate of the Supreme Court regarding some matter, and he revealed that both the Swamys had discussed with him for quashing Justice Jain's report. Swamy knows that he would not succeed to get the Jain Commission's finding quashed by the court of law. Instead of mere threatening to get it quashed, he should move the High Court or the Supreme Court for his purpose. A thorough probe is also required as to why Subramanian Swamy is hell bent on issuing disinformation and who are the persons or agencies behind him.

Swamy blames all the witnesses (except me), and Justice Jain, Arjun Singh, Ram Jethmalani, Mani Shankar Aiyer, George Fernandes, L K Advani and several other top politicians of the ruling NDA and the Congress. He also blames journalists like Vinod Mehta, Vir Sanghvi and top persons from other fields. According to him, all are pro-LTTE. His blame is without any supporting evidence and is not convincing. About ten days before the book was published, a close aide of Chandra Swami came to me through someone and said that they would capture the leadership of All India Congress Committee if I tell the press that I had deposed at the instance of Arjun Singh. They also offered me money. He told me that Subramanian Swamy would join the Congress and Chandra Swamy would be the guru of the next prime minister if I joined them. He also told me that they were in close touch with some senior Congress leaders. They also had one plan which I cannot disclose here because it was related to the family of Rajiv Gandhi. He further told me that Subramanian Swamy had gathered information regarding the link of Justice Jain's son with Sri Lanka. I knew that they were masters in fabricating false evidence like in St. Kitts case, and I said to him something to that effect. He had laughed on my reply, indicating his admission of it!!

Keeping all the above circumstances and Swamy's unsustainable allegations, MDMA should probe why he had written his book and who were behind his back. Indeed he received a huge amount from US and he wrote this book as CIA, MOSSAD and LTTE wanted it. He has changed his earlier statements before the probe. Why does he change his stand one after another? It seems that he is controlled by a remote and the remote is hidden.

SIVRASAN

LTTE supremo was trying his best to arrange a safe hideout for the bomb squad. He knew that the agencies and persons behind the murder might appear in the light if the bomb squad was arrested alive and, in that case, he would not have their financial or weaponry support. LTTE had only two options for the bomb squad — either their safe arrival in the island or in any other country, or their committing suicide. The organisation was working on both the plans. According to the official theory, the police got wind of the Konankunte hideout at Bangalore on 18 August, 1991 but intelligence reports negate it as they had the information at least three weeks earlier that Subha and Sivrasan with others had reached Bangalore. The intelligence agency had intercepted an LTTE shortwave transmission from Jaffna advising Sivrasan to go Bangalore where a number of cadres, wounded in Sri Lanka fighting with the army, were staying safely.

One thing is clearly emerging that SIT had prior knowledge about the hideout of Sivrasan in Bangalore. After the arrest of Varadhan, SIT had come to know about the hideout of the bomb squad on 17 August. There are reports that SIT and Bangalore Police delayed their action for several days. It needs to be probed who was responsible for the delay and why they could not catch Sivrasan while SIT was claiming that they were adopting every way to arrest him. I am

referring here to the movements of the human bomb squad and the police action on the movements.

SIT had sought the assistance of the public to arrest the one-eyed-jack Sivrasan as he could be easily identified by his face and eyes. His left eye was smaller than his right eye. He had an artificial glass eye which was implanted by a Madras-based ophthalmologist about two years back and was recognisable when he wore the glasses. Another definite point of identification was his missing left eyeball. Karthikeyan appealed to all the ophthalmologists in Chennai to go through their records and let him know if they had any record of having given a glass eye to a man of Sivrasan's description. SIT had found a photograph of Sivrasan from his application filed for a driving licence. Sivrasan always used to move around in areas like Porur, Villivakam, Gunnidipoondi, Neelankarai and Besant Nagar and Parrys Corner of the city driving his motorcycle. Several persons who look like Sivrasan had faced difficulties all over the country because of being mistaken for the one-eyed-jack. Anyone resembling Sivrasan and Subha was picked up by SIT. In this process the bodyguard of former Minister and then Speaker of Tamil Nadu Assembly Sedapatti Muthia was also detained by mistake. One more person of his description was detained at the Madras airport on the night of 24 June, 1991. He was released later when his identification as Mahendran, an officer in a nationalised bank in Madras, was confirmed. On 18 June the same thing had happened at New Delhi airport when security agencies took into custody a passenger who was to leave for Bangalore and was later identified as Mohammad Daoud, a businessman. Some villagers of Tiruvanamalai in Tamil Nadu had caught a woman on 5 August because she looked like Subha who had come to the residence of an MLA at Chinniyambettai village. She was caught by the villagers because she could not give a satisfactory explanation to the queries of the villagers. There was a widespread rumour that Sivrasan was in Mysore and

a mathematics lecturer of the Jagadguru Murugharajendera Institute at Chitardurga near Mysore, MK Mehboob, was detained. He had come to Mysore some days before on his annual official trip to the city to evaluate the answer scripts of an engineering examination. He was detained because he had a missing eye and his description perfectly matched that of Sivrasan. One other suspect was found on 15 August in Coimbatore. He was an 30-year old bearded man with an artificial eye but he proved his identity as Jose Jerome, an electrician. Because the news of such incidents were publicised, the bomb squad was finding it very difficult to keep in hiding for long because several lakh colour posters of Sivrasan and Subha were displayed at important points of cities throughout the country, particularly in the South. Sivrasan's hideout was in Kodungayur, a newly developed colony of Chennai.

The human bomb squad had left the house before the arrival of the SIT team. Sivrasan's diary, the artificial eye, wireless parts and a Tamil-English pocket dictionary were found buried. On the night of 29 June, Dhanashekhran along with Vicky and Amman took them in his empty oil tanker to Bangalore via Madras-Bangalore national highway. Sivrasan, Subha and Nehru were hiding inside the tanker. The tanker crossed several checkposts and border of the state but it did not attract anybody's attention. The bomb squad had not informed Vijayan's and Jayakumar's families where they were going. Trichy Santhan received them and took them in his Fiat car to the Indira Nagar safehouse in Bangalore where the injured LTTE cadres were taking the treatment. For a few days they lived in a single-storeyed rented house and LTTE tigers Rangan, Amman, Vicky, Irumborai, Suresh Master and Kirthi were visiting them. On 26 July Vicky and Raghu jumped a traffic signal on their moped. Both were without licence and were taken to the police station. During the interrogation, Vicky gave his address. Next day the Coimbatore Superintendent of Police Muthu Karuppan,

conducted the raid. Dixon was inside and contacted Pottu Amman on wireless and Pottu instructed him to destory everything and consume cyanide. Guna, another tiger of LTTE, activated a hand grenade and the police heard the explosion and found their dead bodies.

On 2 August, SIT and Black Commandos of NSG, surrounded Indira Nagar, the hideout of Sivrasan, but the bomb squad had already been transferred to another hideout in the town. Sivrasan, Subha, and Nehru lived in the house of J Ranganath. Mridula, the wife of Ranganath, had fought with her husband on the issue of hiding the human bomb squad. Thereafter, Ranganath started to search for a rented accommodation and finally succeeded when he took the house of Anjanappa, the brother of Congress leader Aswathnarayana, at Konanakunte about 6 km from Pottan Halli, the residence of J Ranganath. The bomb squad moved to this house. Beroota Police followed the Gypsy of Vicky, suspecting him to be trading in animal skins, when he passed the checkpost on 14 August, 1991. After following it, the police found an old fashioned house situated in the midst of a forest area. This time too police found the bodies of two LTTE cadres who had consumed cyanide but they also found two tigers alive. After this, another house was suspected in Mutathi. A young sub-inspector of Bangalore Police had conducted the raid in which he had smashed the earlier hideout in a well-planned manner after taking every precaution. This time he raided the house with anti-cyanide kit and succeeded in arresting several LTTE cadres. He found a chit on which was written 'Ranganath Pottan Halli'. The sub-inspector went to the assistant commissioner of police of Pottan Halli Area. The ACP immediately made enquiries and the police discovered the driver who had shifted the human bomb squad from Ranganath's house. The ACP went to Ranganath's wife Mridula and she told him about Sivrasan and others because she was angry with her husband for hiding them. She showed their hideout without any ifs and buts. The

ACP passed on this information to his senior officers but the Commissioner of Police Ramalingam suggested his police officers that since SIT Chief Karthikeyan was his senior, he must be taken into confidence before the operation. Therefore the Bangalore Police delayed the operation till the SIT chief arrived. The SIT team reached after two days. The story of the bomb squad ended in Bangalore on 20 August, the birthday of Rajiv Gandhi. Before that Rangan was coming to see Sivrasan when he saw the police surrounding the area. He turned his vehicle back to the house of Irumborai and warned Ranganath not to visit Sivrasan. From there he went to Madras where he was arrested after a few days. Ranganath went to his house and was arrested on 19 August. SIT, NSG Commandos and Bangalore Police were delaying the operation for one reason or the other. Instead of starting the operation, they were busy in summoning more CRPF batallions which were not needed. Therefore Sivrasan, Subba and Nehru had enough time to commit suicide by consuming cyanide. Pottu Amman had directed them earlier to consume cyanide if they are surrounded by the police. On 21 June, Pottu had asked Sivrasan whether they all had cyanide capsules.[49] After two days he had warned Sivrasan to be careful about special police force who would try to arrest them alive. He said further that by using tear gas and in other ways, the force would prevent the cadres from consuming cyanide. Suicide was the only way before LTTE to bury the conspiracy for ever. Sivrasan called everybody and told them that the end of their lives had come. The police still was not in the position to start the operation and was summoning additional force. More than 120 CRPF men arrived at the spot in the night of 19-20 August. In the morning they started the operation. The commandos climbed a ladder and entered the house. The two doors were blasted and the commandos entered the room, but all cadres had committed suicide by consuming cyanide. Sivrasan had first taken cyanide and later he shot himself with his pistol. They had burnt all the

records before consuming suicide. At breakfast time, the show ended — which was like a hit film because hundreds of vehicles and thousands of police force personnel were there for catching three-four people.

Suicide by the bomb squad was an another conspiracy to remain in fold because the executors of the plan were allowed to commit suicide.

Yasser Arafat's advance information about the threat to RG's life assumes added significance in the light of the events that followed. He had conveyed the same to Prime Minister Chander Shekhar. Shekhar even under oath, did not reveal the whole truth. In this regard, Justice Jain observied:

> From the manner of his desposition, I am constrained to observe that Chander Shekhar has withheld some information may be on account of foreign relations as stated by him.

MDMA must probe why Chander Shekhar had withheld the vital information. There is a possibility that he had concealed the facts because of his devotion to CS.

CONSPIRACY TO WIND UP THE COMMISSION

Why did the Government of India decide to wind up the Jain Commission of Inquiry? Who were behind it and what were their reasons? These are burning questions which warrant answers.

Another conspiracy was hatched to wind up the commission to cover up the original conspiracy behind the assassination. The commission had held its first meeting on 2 July, 1993 and defined its jurisdiction and the parameters of the terms of reference vide its order dated 2 July, 1993. It also decided to go into the sequence of events leading to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi from 1981 instead of 29th July, 1987, the date of signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. It directed SIT to make available the case diary,

documents, records and material concerning the investigation. Intelligence agencies, various ministries and CBI felt the serious implication of the commission's order. The minister of state for law and justice held a meeting of senior officers of the PMO, MHA, MEA, IB, RAW and CBI and the SIT chief. The view was expressed that no tangible purpose will be served by the continuation of the commission. A draft was prepared and the process went on up to the prime minister. A meeting of all concerned officers was called by the prime minister and it was decided that MHA should put up a note before the cabinet to seek direction to wind up the commission. The basic reason to wind up was to prevent the likely adverse implications of the inquiry on the trial of the assassination case. A cabinet meeting was held on 10 February, 1994 to consider the aforesaid case vide no. 54/5/94 — item no. 3, but they deferred the matter because there was division of opinion among the cabinet ministers. This question of winding up the commission arose when SIT received a notice under Section 5 (2) (a) from the commission asking the director CBI to file a statement of facts by way of an affidavit. SIT dealt with the Jain Commission of Inquiry and made following suggestions:

(a) The commission be withdrawn by the central government as it was not constituted in pursuance of the resolution of Lok Sabha.
(b) Public interest petition be filed in the Supreme Court to stay the proceedings of the commission pending investigation of the case.
(c) The commission be requested to postpone commencement of proceedings till the trial of the case was completed.

DR Karthikeyan, chief of SIT, stated on 11 November, 1997 before JCI that the proposal to wind up the commission could not have originated from CBI and neither he nor CBI at any stage had pleaded for winding up the commission. Regarding

the idea by whom it was mooted, the statement given by the home minister and the prime minister are contradictory. Rao claims that he was the first to oppose the idea of winding up the commission in the meeting of the cabinet, and the proposal came from the ministry of home. The records reveal that the proposal was put forward by the bureaucrats after taking the consent of the prime minister and a meeting was called hurriedly.

Who would have got the benefit of it? The conspirators behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi certainly would have. The commission was to unearth the wider conspiracy and it was conducting its hearing both publicly and 'in camera'. What emerged was that SIT had left some dark area in the probe. They had fear that the commission could have unearthed it. Although they could not succeed to get the commission wound up due to the formal rejection by the cabinet, yet they continued to scuttle the probe of the commission in many other ways. Tamil Nadu government also moved an application praying to revise the date of probe into the sequence of events leading to the assassination from 1981 to 1987, but it was rejected. A Delhi-based Advocate, Mustaq Ahmed, went to Delhi High Court in June, 1994 seeking the quashing of the MHA notification by which the Jain Commission was set up. His plea was that the commission tantamounted to a parallel probe to the SIT and therefore it was likely to have serious repercussions on criminal investigation because the Jain Commission was going into the same events based on which SIT had already completed the probe. The petitioner had argued that the commission was likely to have prejudicial effect the ongoing trial. Ahmed had filed this writ petition as a public interest litigation (PIL). In July 1994, the Delhi High Court curtailed the scope and terms of the commission and restrained it from probing the areas and agencies covered by SIT and individuals who had already been chargesheeted. The court further directed the commission to start its probe from July 1987

onwards when the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement was signed by Rajiv Gandhi and the commission was not heard by the court. In November 1995, the Delhi High Court had withdrawn all restrictions imposed in July 1994 dismissing the petition of Mustaq Ahmed. The commission was again on its terms and reference to probe from 1981 instead of July 1987. The Government of India was not defending the commission during the proceedings of the High Court on the issue of winding up and the PIL had the backing of the government.

The snake had came of its hole when, in the same month, the Government of India approached the Supreme Court challenging the dismissal of the petition of Mustaq Ahmad. Obviously it was the Narasimha Rao government emerging as the aggrieved party who had moved the court to abolish its own instituted commission. In the same year in December the central government had filed another special leave petition (SLP) before the Supreme Court challenging the privileges of the commission for summoning the case diaries of SIT, but the government could not get leave as both the SLPs were dismissed by different benches of the highest court in India. Whether the proposal to wind up the commission was a conspiracy or not is left to the readers to decide. If the High Court of Delhi and the Supreme Court of India had quashed the MHA order to set up the commission, who would have benefited? Indeed, the proposal to wind up the conspiracy probe panel was to protect the hidden killer. However, Justice Jain had observed several times that the commission would not do anything wrong by going through the case diaries of SIT and it would not give the benefit to the accused facing trial. Karthikeyan confirmed it saying, "As the commission proceeded with its enquiry, I was more and more reassured that the Hon. Commission would not compel me to do anything which may delay or disturb the trial." Despite the assurance by the chairman of the probe panel, SIT and the central government withheld the vital record. The

central government unnecessarily delayed the probe of the commission. The observation made by the Supreme Court delivering the judgement on SLP endorses that it was the power of the Government of India to decide the terms of reference of the commission. There was no need to approach the court when the government had every right to decide the fate of the commission. As the govenment of Rao had failed to get the proposal of winding up the commission approved in the cabinet meeting, it had approached the High Court and the Supreme Court. One file relating to RG's assassination was found missing from the prime minister's office. The government seemed to be under strong influence of the agencies and individuals behind the assassination. The reason which was referred to in the PIL had no relevance because the chairman of one-man probe panel was the former chief justice of the Delhi High Court who had never used the commission as a weapon for damaging the proceeding of the trial court in Tamil Nadu. Such a move of the government indicated to all who had some knowledge of the assassination plot that they would face danger if they came forward to assist the commission. *Prima facie* it does appear that the attempt to wind up the probe panel was made to protect the accused and keep the wider conspiracy from being uncovered.

MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF SHANMUGHAM

After about 57 days of RG's assassination, another incident occurred. Shanmugham, a 35-year old harbourer of Rajiv's assassins, surrendered before police after all avenues of escape or remaining in hiding were cut. Tamil Nadu Police handed over him to SIT. Police had remanded him in custody for 30 days in the third week of July 1991. He was the only person with whom the assassins Sivrasan and Dhanu had stayed after landing in Indian territory from Sri Lanka. His

arrest was more important than even Nalini's and Murugun's. He was a smuggler and LTTE sympathiser. SIT team brought him to his hometown Vedaranyam from Chennai on 18 July, 1991 in a helicopter. He had revealed various important facts and circumstances. On the basis of his revelation, SIT had seized 121 cases of explosives, wireless sets made in Japan and 3,200 litres of petrol. These huge quantities were buried on the coast near his native village Kodaikadu near Vedaranyam in Thanjuvar district of Tamil Nadu. This coastal area is very near to Jaffna peninsula and Velvettithurai, the home town of LTTE chief Parbhakaran. After his arrest, Rajinder Jain used to say that now Chandra Swamy would soon be arrested in the case of Rajiv's assassination. Shanmugam's arrest was just after a few days of the publication of the story by Rajinder Jain against CS in Rajiv's killing. Suddenly a news spread that Shanmugham had run away from SIT custody. Later his dead body was found hanging on a mango tree. Rajinder Jain became very disappointed after hearing about the mysterious death of Shanmugam. After his death he was scared that CS might get him killed. Was the death of Shammugam suicide or murder? The first serious question arises — was there any reason for him to commit suicide? The suicide theory falls under its own weight with reference to the reason behind it. If he had thought of suicide, he would not have surrendered before the police. He was wanted by SIT and therefore he absconded and went underground, filing his writ of habeas corpus which was contested by SIT. With his failure of getting the relief, he surrendered before the SP of Thanjuvar District who produced him before the chief investigative officer of SIT on 17 July, 1991 at Chennai. In the evening of the same day he was produced before additional sessions judge, Chennai, on 18 July, who ordered his police remand for 30 days. A person who had surrendered himself before police would not be the one to commit suicide. Even the story given by police confirms that, after his arrest, he was normal, took

bath, changed his clothes and took lunch. His dead body was discovered hanging from the branch of the tree in a nearby mango grove at about 0600 hours on 20 July. According to the story N Shanmugam, son of Nagaraja Pillai, resident of Kodiakadu, a coastal village in Tamil Nadu, had run away from the inspection bungalow, where he was kept in SIT custody, in the night of 19 July, 1991 at about 2145 hours.

After the escape of the accused Shanmugam, a case in CR No. 450/91 under Section 224, IPC was registered at 10.45 p.m at Vedaranyam Police Station on the complaint of Inspector of SIT Bhaskaran and following the discovery of the dead body of Shanmugam, a case 451/91, dated 20 July, 1991 under section 174 CrPC was registered in Vedaranyam Police Station on the complaint of Raj Kumar, the village administrative officer. The inquest proceeding was conducted by the RDO, Mannargudi, and the post-mortem was done by a team of three doctors of the government headquarter hospital, Nagapattinam. RDO Gurunathan expressed doubt about Shanmugam committing sucide by hanging. The first reason of his suspicion was the two knots as ordinarily only one knot is made by those committing suicide. The other reason of his suspicion was that a 12 ft. long heavy rope had been used and it was impossible to obtain such a rope in the night. He raised suspicion on the question whether there was any need for committing sucide, and that too, within 50 yards of the travellers bungalow inside the park. Gurunathan also observed that Shanmugam had enemies, politically and professionally, as learnt by him. They could have killed him and hanged him on the tree.

R Srikumar, DIG, SIT who had interrogated Shanmugum and was present at the time of escape of Shanmugum, was examined by JCI. He deposed that he had interrogated Shanmugam from 8.00 to 9.30 p.m. on 19 July, 1991. At about 9.45 p.m. he learnt that Shanmugham had escaped. He had handed over Shanmugham to Inspector Bhaskaran to take him to police lock-up. Srikumar came to know later

that Shanmugham, his uncle Seetharaman and the driver Kalidas took food together in a small room which he had not seen earlier. On the basis of his statement, a suspicious question arises as to why he had not inspected the bungalow to ensure whether or not it was safe. Srikumar also stated that Bhaskaran had taken Shanmugham from his room and he came to know later that Shanmugha had taken food with his uncle Seetharaman and driver Kalidas. The statement made by Srikumar does not get corroboration from the other persons who were at the spot at the time of escape. Shanmugam's uncle Seetharaman, in his statement, said that Srikumar had come when they were having dinner and said that he had not harassed his nephew. Shanmugham had finished and went out through the northern door to drop the leaf in which the food was served. In a short while some people came in shouting that some one was running. The statement of Seetharaman should be believed and the statement of Srikumar cannot be believed because the former had given the statement on the day of incident and the latter had given the statement after a year, and it could have been an afterthought.

Shanmugham had run away dressed in a shirt and white *dhoti*, and was found hanging wearing only an underwear. A coloured *lungi* and a gunny bag were found lying at his feet. His tongue and eyes were not also protruding. Both his feet were touching the ground. There was no sign of cunination or excretion. Therefore it is not believable that Shanmugham had committed suicide by hanging himself. Guru nthan was doubtful about Shanmugham's death being a 'suicide' and there was a general talk among public and relations of Shanmugham that this could have been done by the police department. According to his relatives and friends, Shanmugham was a courageous man who would never have committed suicide and the entire drama was a manipulation of the police. How could a person have run away the way SIT claimed. Why had the police constable not run to catch

Shanmugham and alarmed the others. DIG Srikumar admitted this fact and therefore it further strengthens the suspicion. Srikumar said the police constable could have caught up Shanmugham had he not come inside the bungolow to tell others that he had run away...

The suicide theory is not established when we consider the availability of the rope, the distance from the place of escape and the way the body was found hanging. Justice Jain observes:

> I am not in a position to arrive at any categorical finding, though one may feel convinced on the basis of the post-mortem reports and the other opinions of the experts but it would have been better that these suspicions would have been cleared from the experts after questioning them with reference to the site and also with reference to the rope and the knots and after questioning them as to why the measurement of the ligature mark and the noose and the knot were not recorded, and whether fracture of cervical vertebrae was a must from a sudden and violent fall from such a height of the branch of the tree.

Therefore Justice Jain advised to probe further observing:

> In the light of the above consideration, the question requires further probe keeping in view the medico-legal aspects of the matter so that on any decisive factor a categorical finding can be arrived at that the death of Shanmugham was only a result of suicidal hanging.

In view of the strong observation of the commission, a deep probe is required to erase all doubts.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

Since independence of India on 15 August, 1947 the Congress had been ruling the country and Jawahar Lal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi led the country as prime ministers. The first non-congress government came in existence in 1977 when jail-born Janata Party defeated the Congress on the issue of 18 months emergency rule of Indira Gandhi. Morarji Desai had been sworn as the prime minister. But after two years, CS had played an important role to topple the government of Janata Party when he bridged the gap between Charan Singh, the farmers' leader and the home minister of Desai's government, and Sanjay Gandhi. SS Mohapatra who appeared before JCI as my witness had stated regarding CS's role that he carried the tales from one leader to the other. CS had instigated Charan Singh for defection from Janata Party. Charan Singh, who was from my Jat community, had replaced Morarji Desai with the outside support of the Congress. Later, CS's hand was there in the fall of Charan Singh's government in league with Sanjay Gandhi, the younger brother of RG.

Earlier CIA used to conspire to weaken the Congress political base for helping oppositions leaders. The sudden fall of first non-Congress government in 1979 had made CIA realise that there would be no alternative to the Congress.

CIA was more vigilant towards this development because the Congress government had friendly relations with the erstwhile USSR, the other superpower equal to US in that saga. During the Janata Party's rule, several cases were registered against Indira Gandhi. The foreign agencies had floated a rumour that she would leave the country with all her family members to evade arrest and the Nehru-Gandhi family would never be at the peak in the political firmament again. Sharad Pawar, YB Chavan and Devraj Urs had expelled Indira Gandhi from the Congress and she called a Congress workers' convention at Vithal Bhai Patel Bhavan at Rafi Marg, New Delhi, where she was elected the president All India Congress Committe (I).

Congress rejuvenated under the charismatic leadership of Indira Gandhi and won by a thumping majority in the mid-term parliamentary elections in 1980. But after a few months, Indira Gandhi received a major personal setback due to unexpected accidental death of Sanjay Gandhi in an aircrash. RG unwillingly joined politics to contest the parliamentary bye-election in the last quarter of 1980 from Amethi in UP from where his younger brother was earlier elected. RG received training from his mother and, due to his friendly and extrovert nature, he attracted young Congress worker towards him. Indira Gandhi had given him more opportunity in this regard by appointing him general secretary of AICC in 1983. The opposition parties had divided further in several political outfits and the political scenario was in favour of a stable government of the Congress. CIA and ISI supported the sectionalist forces to divide India in various parts; CS was CIA's agent and he was supplying arms and ammunition to Sikh militants and other terrorist groups. Superpower US had provided millions of US dollar to Pakistan's espionage agency ISI to train and finance Sikh militants and other terrorist organisations. Indira Gandhi faced CIA's challenge till her assassination by several means. The report of Thakhar Natarjan Commission which

probed the engagement of Fairfax group by VP Singh, reads in part as under:

> In brief, the CIA has and will continue to conduct mayhem throughout the world regardless of law or accepted norms. For all its criticisms of the inhumanity of the other organisation, e.g. the KGB, it is no different, perhaps even worse. It appears through special CIA training schools for its recruits and agents for military/police personnel of the third world.

The report further observes:

> It manipulates 'news' by 'hiring' foreign editors, columnists and journalists. Up to the late 70s at least, the CIA probably ran what in effect was the biggest news organisations in the world. One must not forget the CIA input into VOA broadcasts.

CIA was very much involved in Indian affairs. Extracts from Bob Woodward's VIEL: *The Secret War of the CIA-1981-1987* are reproduced here to discuss the role of CIA in India:

> Moynihan also had few illusions about the capacity of the CIA to deliver useful intelligence. When he was Ambassador to India, from 1973 to 1975, his CIA station chief had often rushed in with Indian government secrets in special folders denoting importance, but then the Indian leadership would do something that was not mentioned in the folders; it was clear to him that CIA was missing a great deal.

As regards India, it stated:

> First, there were human sources who if exposed would not be just lost but killed. He revealed some, including a senior official in the Indian government who was a CIA asset. This man sent out information on weapons which the Soviets supplied to India; his speciality was air defence.

There is further reference regarding India on page 100 as under:

> India is key but power is divided between the Gandhi government and Defence Ministry that is almost wholly under Soviet domination. This two-tiered government will make things difficult for the US, he explained, because it is often unclear who had the real say.

CIA's brief has always been widely confined not only to chaos but also making and unmaking governments all over the world wherever, whenever considered expedient by the USA.

In India, the movements of CIA were very frequent and it had enjoyed access for long to many ministries and departments. Indira Gandhi had gathered a lot of knowledge about CIA's role in India during her regime. It is also evident from page 310 of Bob's book, which reads:

> CIA sources in India had been compromised and rolled up; Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had been furious that the United States had a spy in her midst. But both countries had decided it was best to play down the matter.

According to this book, the Government of India received stunning proof of a US strategic plan to "Balkanize India" and "to destroy its influence in the third-world and elsewhere."

Considering the above and evaluating it in the chequered history of CIA, I believe that the disclosure made by Lakhubhai Pathak about his suspicion of CS's involvement in the assassination of Indira Gandhi may also be true. This suspicion further gets strengthened with CIA's repeated financial support to sectionalist and terrorist groups in India directly or through ISI.

Loosing his mother suddenly was a rude shock for RG when she was assassinated at her official residence by her own bodyguards on 31 October, 1984. Her unnatural death was not a mere killing, it was an attempt to destabilise the country as per the deposition of Narasimha Rao. According to the deposition of Lakhubhai Pathak before JCI, CS had

told him in 1983 that PV Narasimha Rao would be the prime minister and Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna would be the president of India. Just after the death of Indira Gandhi, Pathak presumed that she had been killed by CS by a conspiracy in order to instal Narasimha Rao as the prime minister. CS tried his level best to instal either Rao or Pranab as the prime minister in place of RG. On that ill-fated day RG was on a tour to West Bengal from where he returned to Delhi with Pranab in a special flight. Pranab had mooted the idea of the interim prime minister like Gulzari Lal Nanda had been twice after the death of Jwaharal Lal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. He was the number two after her to avail the opportunity of being installed to the highest post. But in between, RG was sworn in by the president. CS was flabbergasted to see RG in the chair of the prime minister. Hence he instigated Charan Singh to issue a statement to the press that RG's being sworn to the highest post was unconstitutional because he had been elected by the Parliamentary Board (the highest executive body consisting of 5 or 7 members of the Congress Working Committee) instead of Parliamentary Congress Party. When CS could not succeed to prevent the president of India from installing RG as the prime minister, he called astrologers to know the life span of RG and he became inimical to RG from the first day of his prime ministership.

CS spent a huge amount in the parliamentary election of 1984 to get the opposition leader to be elected. Despite his and CIA's efforts to defeat the party under RG's leadership, the Congress bagged two-thirds majority. RG took initiative to solve the problems of sectionalist forces in India. He signed various accords to bring permanent peace in the country. Punjab, Mizoram, Assam, and hilly area of West Bengal were kept united by virtue of these accords. He had been carrying India towards the twenty-first century. He provided the younger generation of the country with the right to vote at the age of 18 years. He laid emphasis on science

and technology and gave more rights to *panchayats*. He became the first ruler of the country to visit the remote tribal areas. The commission system of government aid to *panchayati raj* was ended when he started to send the government aid directly to the elected *panchayats* of villages. He had a strong wish to root our corruption from the administration. The young and dynamic RG was awarded the title of 'Mr Clean' by the press.

Besides this, he played a pivotal role in the international arena. RG increased the defence budget twofold. The saga of RG was for all-round development after overcoming all major problems and crisis. Signing a series of accords, he had started to move forward fast. He became the arbitrator to bring peace in South Asia by signing the Indo-Sri Lankan pact in 1987. With the deployment of IPKF in Sri Lanka, the hostile forces were put on alert. LTTE earlier was of the view to surrender before IPKF and to acknowledge the accord. With the death of Thileepan by fasting, the atmosphere of peace had turned into one of hostility by the disinformation campaigns of MOSSAD, CIA and RG's Indian enemies.

CIA had also increased its espionage budget many-fold in India because it realised that India had the potential to become an international superpower. All these developments in India were considered by the US at length and CIA had made a plan to marginalise India. In 1996 CIA agents made all kinds of efforts to replace RG as the prime minister with Narasimha Rao. CS had photocopies of two letters which are evidence of CIA's move against RG. One letter was written by William Casey on the letter pad of CIA to the President, Heritage Foundation of America, and the other letter was written by Heritage Foundation to William Casey. Casey's letter of 10 December, 1987 was in appreciation of the Foundation's report *Rajiv Gandhi Dilemma: A Policy Framework for Tomorrow*. The central idea was to engulf RG in an avalanche of accusations of corruption and worse

leading to his disappearance from the political scene.[47] The US had described these two letters as fake. If it was so, it is a proven conspiracy on the part of CS that he fabricated them. Whether the letters were fake or original is still not known but these letters certainly become evidence of CIA's involvement in Indian affair because US did not ban the entry of CS for his offence of fabrication of documents defaming US. CIA's link with CS is beyond doubt. Even if the letters were original, CIA had not admitted it. Despite the unveiling of his role relating to CIA's letters, the US had protected CS and his liberty to frequently visit the United States was not curtailed. These reasons give credibility to the belief that he is certainly an agent of CIA and both letters were true.

In restropect, it seems clear that CS and CIA made all efforts by several ways to finish RG and destabilise India. In fact, CIA and CS conspired to assassinate RG's character and politics first and assassinate him physically later. *The Indian Express* group launched a continuing attack on RG on Bofors kick-back and they depended on CS's unsustainable claim that he had received the evidence from the dismissed President of Bofors Martin Ardbo in lieu of his new employment with Sultan of Brunei. Goenka and his party were told that CS was on the verge of coming back with 'explosive revelations'. He was expected to call Delhi from Paris and disclose that Sonia Gandhi's father's bank account showed a dramatic increase just as the Bofors deal was concluded and he would be sending *The Indian Express* the bank statements. The involvement of CIA with CS lay in the fact that this was happened when Rajiv's reputation was at its nadir. A large section of Congress lived in terror of the evidence. It was floated that the revelations which would destroy Rajiv's credibility were due to be published any day. Before President Gyani Zail Singh set to dismiss RG, it was necessary to convince the Congress MPs that they had to dump RG before he was proved to be a crook. CS and CIA were the key players in the plot. CS gave the opposition all the material

on Ajitabh Bhachan as also the list of Bofors payments which were published by *The Indian Express*. When CS flew back to India on 19 September, 1987 he found the CBI waiting for him. CS's claims regarding Bofors were flimsy. Despite these claims being false, the statement signed by top opposition leader including Chander Shekhar, KP Unnikrishnan, Ajit Singh, Devi Lal and others in the first week of March 1988 came as a great surprise. The statement issued in the press was against RG and in defence of CS.[5]

I had knowledge that CS was enimical to RG. At that time CS repeatdly claimed that he would finish RG physically too. I had warned RG to beware of CS. As RG was aware about CS's designs, he ordered the CBI to probe his role. CBI conducted a raid at the *Indian Express* guest house in Sunder Nagar, New Delhi, on 13 March, 1987. The draft of an order by the President of India, Gyani Zail Singh was recovered inter alia from the premises of RN Goenka in the presence of CIA agent CS. The whole game plan now lay exposed.

My effort did not end with my letter to RG. I met Chiman Lal, the veteran freedom fighter. Earlier we used to interact on the issue of threats to the life of RG from CS and CIA. Chiman Lal used to go to Gyani Zail Singh with Mohapatra and he knew their move to oust RG. Later I came to know that he was going to the president to smell their plot and pass on this information to RG. I had come in his contact through Mohapatra. As he was RG's loyalist, I revealed to him that CS and CIA nexus wanted to eliminate RG either politically or physically. He already knew that the internal and external powers (CS and CIA) had conspired to destabilise India.

I suggested to him to launch a campaign against the anti-Rajiv forces for convincing congressmen about the conspiracy. After that he had sent a printed letter in 1987 to the Congressmen apprising them of the prevalent scenario and seeking their undertaking on oath to strengthen the

hands of RG. Chimanlal died some time after his deposition before JCI but his letter is evidence that he had some definite knowledge about anti-Rajiv and anti-India forces in 1987.

On 25 September, 1987 Lakhubhai Pathak lodged his complaint to CBI against CS saying that the latter cheated him of US $100,000. CBI registered this case and started to investigate it. A joint raid of income tax, enforcement department and CBI was conducted at the premises of CS and his aide KN Aggarwal in February 1988. Various documents and copies of four drafts which were paid into the account of Adnan Khashogi in BCCI bank at Monto Carlo were seized inter alia. During this time, CS used to express his anger saying that he would get RG killed as his mother was killed. He had gone on saying that he would finish the whole Nehru-Gandhi family.

I, Mohapatra and Chiman Lal had deposed before JCI and they corrobrated my statement regarding CS's utterances to finish off RG. We all had met CS at Hanuman Vatika Ramlila ground, New Delhi, and he had threatened to kill RG before all of us. Arif Mohammad Khan had also confirmed it in his testimony that CS used to express his anger before everyone during those days by saying that he would finish off RG.

CS had visited the residence of Chimal Lal as well and sought his assistance as revealed by Chimanlal. CS had developed his relation with LTTE in 1988 because they both had the common aim of eliminating RG. He had already good relations with Sikh terrorist outfits. Meanwhile LTTE and Khalistan leader Chauhan had united.[24-26] Chiman Lal had helped Kittu and KP a few times in Delhi and Bombay on the instruction of CS. Chiman Lal died shortly after deposing in the Jain Commission but his photograph with CS is an evidence of their association. After sometime CS is an and Rao realised that VP Singh was getting benefited from their move against RG and he might be the next prime minister replacing RG whose popularity graph was at its lowest.

Keeping the changed political scenario in their mind, they hatched a new plot to tarnish the image of VP Singh too so that Rao might avail the opportunity to be the prime minister if Rajiv's government fell or if a hung parliament emerged after the impending election. With this end in mind, they fabricated the fake accounts of Ajay Singh, the son of VP Singh, at St. Kitts by depositing a huge amount into it from the money of their co-conspirators abroad.

While they posed to RG as his loyalists, they were hatching the nefarious plan of dumping him at the appropriate time. Rao's and CS's dreams were shattered when VP Singh replaced RG as the prime minister. CS then flew abroad to evade his arrest in St. Kitts case. CIA's plot was no different than CS's and Rao's as it had also a plan to instal either Narasimha Rao or Chander Shekhar as the prime minister. CIA's involvement in Indian affairs got exposed when they directed SS to damage the image of VP Singh. While Subramanian Swamy had claimed in 1989 that the documents regarding CIA's payment to VP were confirmed to him by top government officials, implying highly placed civil servants, after two years he changed his version while replying to a query of CBI that his source of information was RG. Though he cleverly concealed the CBI queries made vide its letter no. 95/NB/DCBI/90 dated 19 August, 1991, yet another letter of CBI in furtherance of its queries was published to impress the reader. This letter of CBI which he published was one which he had received after two years from the date of reporting the matter, but he remained silent on whether CBI had sent him any other letter earlier. SS exposes himself when he says after ten years of his reply to CBI, "I took the documents from aide". This makes him prosecutable for furnishing false information to CBI. Indeed he exposes himself when he conveniently claims RG being his source of information as the latter is not alive to defend himself and to denounce his false claim. Moreover his above claim reflects that he had believed there was a link between

CIA and VP, but he did not believe in the involvement of CIA behind the assassination. SS is indeed a CIA agent and it is proven by his own version when he claim that Americans are very contractual minded and believed in a principle of *quid pro quo*. This was the reason that CIA did not become angry on his claim about VP because it was a contract between the US and him.

In persuance of CIA's plot, SS first got the merger of Lok Dal (Ajit) with Janata Party to put the brakes on VP's emerging leadership in the opposition; later Ajit Singh was elected the president of Janata Party to keep the balance of opposition power in favour of Chander Shekhar in case the opposition formed the government.

With the merging of two major political parties of the oppositions of those days, Janata Party received a fresh lease of life. Shekhar's and SS's plan failed with Ajit's decision to join the newly formed Janata Dal along with the other faction of Lok Dal (Bahuguna) led by its stalwart Devi Lal. Shekhar and Bahuguna tried to prevent the merger of their parent party with a view to retaining their political hold but failed owing to the media's support of VP. While Shekhar was compelled to join Janata Dal, his close aides SS and Indu Bhai Patel remained with Janata Party with the future plan of convincing their leader to dump VP and to form a new government at the centre led by Shekhar with the patronage of CIA and CS.

For achieving this goal, SS issued a statement on 16 November, 1989 that VP had links with CIA. He issued some fake documents as an evidence of $ 1 million grant to VP from CIA. He wrote to the then President R Venktarman claiming that the documents relating to VP's links with CIA had been confirmed to him by top Indian government officials, which the US, its embassy in Delhi and the CIA denounced as forgery. In May 2000 a book titled *The Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi* authored by SS was released. This book reads like a public relations release in favour of

CS and CIA and, as such, leaves no doubt about his leanings and loyaty to them. With the downfall of JD's government in 1990 with the active financial support of CS, SS and CIA by purchasing the loyalty of MPs for the Shekhar fold, their long awaited plan was more or less fulfilled. CS was wanted in the criminal case of St Kitts's forgery while his Private Secretary KN Aggarwal had remained in jail for several months for that offence and was released on bail later. Despite all this, the then Union Law Minister Subramanian Swamy thought it fit to throw protocol to winds and receive the dubious 'godman' at the airport on his return from a long exile to evade arrest.

CS had earlier a plan to kill VP because he wanted to instal his friend Shekhar as the prime minister. Aggarwal and Rajinder Jain had visited my residence to seek my help in that plot. Those days I was the star compaigner against VP's policies and had led a nationwide movement. Aggarwal had revealed that they were in search of some youths who could be trained as human bombs by MOSSAD to blast VP. I did not agree to their proposal because I was opposing VP democratically and I had no personal enemity with him. When I expressed my anger on their suggestion, they apologised and promised not to indulge in anti-national activities.

They abandoned the idea to assassinate VP because they had replaced him with Shekhar. They hatched a new plot to kill RG so that Shekhar would continue to be the prime minister. Despite RG Congress' outside support to Shekhar's government, CS wanted to eliminate him to make the Congress leaderless so that either Shekhar or Narasimha Rao would lead the country for a long time. While CS was abroad, Aggarwal convinced Jambuwant Rao Dhote that the latter could regain his political weight if he took RG to address a rally at Rohtak. The letter addressed to RG from Dhote was drafted by Aggarwal and SS on the instruction of CS. I came to know about their plot to kill RG in Haryana with the help of Chautala's government through a Sikh terrorist outfit of

JS Chauhan. But Mahant Sewa Dass Singh's testimony gives support to this plot. Indeed CS, SS and Chautala earlier had a plan to get RG assassinated either in Delhi or Haryana by Sikh militants. Simultaneously they were also in touch with LTTE to get RG killed in the South. It seems that the LTTE demands were too high to execute the plan of assassination. LTTE always had got sympathy and help from India. In view of the above, it is impossible that LTTE Chief Parbhakaran had thought to eliminate RG without considering that he would lose the sympathy of India in that case. Moreover, LTTE was operating through southern part of India where it had a wider network and its wounded cadre used to come there for treatment. Without the help of India, LTTE was not able to survive. LTTE did not kill RG without extracting major benefits by way of weaponry and money. It is evident because they had not harmed RG during his ten visits to Tamil Nadu in 1990. Had LTTE wanted to take revenge from RG for sending IPKF to Sri Lanka, they could have killed him during any of his previous visits to TN.

LTTE's political wing leader Kasi Anandan had met RG on 5 March, 1991 in Delhi with the help of Malini Parthasarthy, the editor of *The Hindu,* and tried to bridge the gap between RG and LTTE. Both had a one-to-one talk for 45 minutes. After about 15 days Arjuna Sithampalam, a London-based Tamil who is a banker to LTTE, also met RG through Narasimha Rao. Both Kasi and Arjuna had met him with the approval of Kittu and Parbhakaran. This was the move of LTTE to fathom the mind of RG to ascertain whether he had the old approach towards LTTE or his attitude had undergone a change. Both the parties had decided to bury their differences and hoped for better relationship in future.

After this meeting LTTE should have softened towards RG, and indeed it had. But after the fall of Chander Shekhar's government and declaration of elections, the political scenario had changed. RG was emerging as a strong contender for

the post of the prime minister and it was dangerous signal to the US and CS and his chain of disciples in India. The US and its espionage agency CIA were deadly against RG for his opposition to US and other imperialist powers who had attacked Iraq. Shekhar's government had mortgaged the soveregnity of the country to allow the refuelling to US aircraft in India during the Gulf war. Contrary to it, RG had visited Moscow and Tehran in a bid to unite the socialist and third-world countries against the US action. There was a strong possibility of RG emerging as an international leader after becoming the prime minister again as he had already led the third-world countries. CIA could never allow him to be that. Simultaneously CS, being a middle man between US and the then government, had enjoyed a extra-constitutional powers during the tenure of Shekhar. SS was another agent of CIA whose dedication towards US was unparelleled. The deposition of then Cabient Secretary Zaffar Saifullah is very much important. Saifullah revealed that he had known the existence of some messages intercepted by the Navy and perhaps by the IB between foreign intelligence agencies and LTTE based at Jaffna as well as Tamil Nadu relating to the period 1990 and 1991.

He could not recollect the contents therein but said that these messages were related to the threats to the life of RG. He clarified that the purpose of these messages was to convey some information to CS and SS. He claimed that the messages possibly emanated from MOSSAD in 1990-91. He further deposed that one gathered in the course of interaction that CS had links with foreign intelligence agencies specially the CIA and MOSSAD, and SS had strong influence with CIA. Justice Jain observes:

> This circumstance which has come in the depositions of Zaffar Saifullah is of great significance as he has deposed on the basis of his knowledge gained by him while functioning as Cabinet Secretary and while interacting with the authorities in the cocerned intelligence agency.

This statement is a strong admissible evidence in the court of law and it establishes the link of both the Swamys with MOSSAD and LTTE. This statement leaves no doubt about the involvement of CS, SS, CIA and MOSSAD in the wider conspiracy behind the assassination. MOSSAD was working as sub-espoinage agency of CIA since long. Both the espionage agencies became more alert and active to evaulate the incoming possibility of RG becoming the prime minister after the mid-term elections. There are number of intelligence reports showing the rise in activities of MOSSAD in India before the assassination.

CS and Chautala had deployed Haryana Police to know the security lapses concerning RG and to pass on those loopholes to Sikh terrorist led by Chauhan and LTTE to assassinate RG. CS and Chautala had flown to London on 1 and 2 March, 1991 by flights BA-020 and AI-131, and they landed back in Delhi on 9 March by flight AI-128. In between, the surveillance was noticed and the Congress had raised this question and demanded that the chief minister of Haryana be changed. Despite several requests by the Congress, Shekhar did not take any action on it.[57] SS has described surveillance as being the last straw on the camel's back in the relations between RG and Shekhar. He revealed that the relations between RG and Shekhar were deteriorating and surveillance had further triggered the same. Justice Jain observed that the surveillance appeared to be linked with the security of RG. When Shekhar's government fell and the mid-term elections were declared. Then CS was on a tour of Bombay and he met his old friend Chiman Lal. CS revealed to him that he would ensure by any means that Shekhar continued to be the prime minister. He also indicated that Shekhar could not continue till RG was alive. Thereafter Chimanlal had warned RG by a letter telling him that he would face danger to his life and advised him to take precautions.

With the appearance of surveillance, they buried the idea to kill RG in Haryana or Delhi because in that case the suspicion needle would have turned towards them and the probe could have identified their role. These reasons compelled them to discuss the conspiracy again with LTTE, with whom they had old contacts; but LTTE's demands were very high. Indeed LTTE killed RG after receiving real heavy benefits.[56] The amount might have been transferred by the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) or any other bank or banks. I want to say here that CS had very deep relation with this bank and he was very much worried when it ceased to exist. I want to clarify that BCCI may be only one way to deposit the amount in LTTE's or KP's account but there is also strong possibility that the money was transferred to other bank accounts abroad. But BCCI, which I call as a 'Bank of Crooks and Criminals International', was a bridge to carry out the shady deals of the underworld and therefore BCCI could have indeed provided some lead or evidence about the money deal of LTTE for procurment of weapons.

Two US Senators John Kerry and Hank Brown had reported to the Committee on Foreign Affairs that CIA Director William Casey had contacts with BCCI's head Agha Hasan Abedi. The report establishes the link of Adnan Khashogi with CIA. KP alias Kumaran Padmanabhan, the LTTE arms dealer, also had his account no. 0206190 with Bank of Credit and Commerce International, Bombay. According to Justice Jain, there is possibility of fund transaction to LTTE in lieu of assassination because BCCI was supporting terrorism and was engaged in arms trafficking. Not only the terrorist organisations, CIA had also several accounts in it. Adnan Khasghoi and Erni Miller were operating CS's bank account in BCCI. This bank was being used by CIA, CS, LTTE and several other terrorist outfits who were operating their bank accounts. CS and his former Private Secretary Kailash Nath Aggarwal were debiting and

crediting huge amounts through the account of Khashogi in BCCI since 1985. CS's connection with BCCI is evident from the seizure of documents from his *ashram* during a CBI raid in February 1988. A diary was seized from his premises during another raid on 1 November, 1996. The diary shows that Sri Lankan Anura Fernando had received rupees 1 million (Indian) in the form of a loan from CS and Vikram, private secretary to CS. This entry was made by CS himself. This evidence established his link, at least with Sri Lankan citizens. MDMA must be probing this angle but I want to refer to CS's deposition about visits to Tamil Nadu before the assassination.

Despite his confessional statement in the Jain Commission that he had a number of disciples in Madras, CS failed to give their names. When he was pulled up by Justice Jain, he gave only one name instead of five or ten names. He denied that he knew Shanmugham, while he revealed to me several times during his threats course applying on me that he had got him killed and therefore he would also kill me if I would open my mouth about RG's assassination. CS did not disclose the name of his contacts in Madras due to his fear of their identification as LTTE high-ups.

LTTE was ruined by Indian Peace Keeping Force when the latter had pushed it to Wanni jungle in Sri Lanka. It was impossible for LTTE to reinstate its strength to more than what it was earlier without having received huge amounts and latest weaponry equipment from some persons and agencies. As LTTE is presently like a conventional army, these circumstances reveal that it had received a huge money as well as weaponry consignment after the assassination. The circumstances and movements of human bomb squad leader Sivrasan give indication that LTTE started to execute the plan to assassinate RG only after the fall of Shekhar government in March 1991.

On 28 August, 2000, a news of UNI was published in *Punjab Kesari* claiming that LTTE was more powerful than Sri Lankan army as it had attacked Sri Lankan aircraft by a surface-to-air missile. The report said that LTTE was capable to throw a bomb as far as 140 km, and that it had a strong sea force (navy). Surface to air missiles were provided by the US to LTTE. The US had earlier provided SAM to Mujahadeen rebels in Afghanistan. Tom Clancy writes in his book *Airbarne* (page 123 of 1999 edition):

> Is it possible for a weapon system to have such great value on the battlefiled that it actually turns the political tide of a war? If so, the man-portable stinger SAM is just such a system. In the 1980s, the Reagan administration made the decision to supply advance Stinger man-portable surface to air missiles to the Mujahedeen rebels fighting the occupying Soviet armies in Afghanistan. Several years later, the Soviet withdrew their forces — defeated. Many in both America and the former Soviet Union firmly believe that if any single factor contributed to this withdrawal, it was the fact the Russian helicoptors and aircraft were unable to fly unhindered and gain control of the air in such a fashion as to provide support for their troops on the ground. Stringers in the hands of Mujahedeen were the reason.

In view of the above, it can be said that CIA may have supplied SAM to LTTE in *quid pro quo* for RG's assassination. This suspicion gets support from several intelligence reports of IB and RAW. There is another news supporting it which appeared in *News Today* with the caption 'LTTE struck deal through contact men in Paris, London. Anti-aircraft gun part of weaponry recently acquired through slush funds'. Rs. 5,400 crores were given to LTTE for ending RG's life.[56] The report further reads, "The LTTE was paid in latest weapons worth Rs 100 crore as the first instalment, following the receipt of which it drew a detailed blue print of the assassination."[27]

One eyed Sivrasan, whose real name was Pakia Chandran and his name in organisation was Raghvaran, had came in India in February 1990 from Sri Lanka. After that he had visited his homeland several times. During his first visit he was accompanied by Santhan who was from his village. They landed at Kodiakkarai in India by boat and stayed with Shanmugham. During that visit to India he prepared the ground to kill EPRLF leader Padmanabha. He again went to Sri Lanka and came back a week prior to the assassination of Padmanabha on 19 June 1990. Sivrasan had played a pivotal role in assassinating him and escaped to Jaffna immediately. He and others reached Velvettithurai and they were welcomed by Pottu Amman, the chief of intelligence wing of LTTE. Next day of his arrival, Parbhakaran had come to them and had applauded them for their role in the killing. Since May 1990, LTTE had formed TNRT (Tamil National Retrieval Troops), an armed force in Tamil Nadu, for procuring arms, ammunition, bombs, wireless sets, promoting killing, rendering service to terrorist groups and other disruptive activities. TNRT was formed solely to disrupt the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India. The lone object was the assassination of Indian leaders, including RG, and striking terror in the country. It was a plan to spread the network of TNRT in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Delhi in India and to cause the disappearance of evidence thereof. Though TNRT was to provide screen to the cadres from being apprehended, it was also to harbour the accused and help them escape the clutches of law. TNRT was primarily formed for a Greater Tamil Eelam. Sivrasan had returned to India in September 1990 for the preparation of LTTE wider network. The first group of the accused in RG's assassination, Vijayan, his wife Selvalaxmi and his father-in-law Bhaskaran were sent by Sivrasan on 12 September, 1990. The second group of Robert Payas, Jaykumar and his wife Shanthi landed in India on 20 September and they arranged suitable accommodations. Sivrasan once again went to Sri Lanka,

returned in December 1990 and stayed in the house of Jaykumar. He used to spend lavishly on them. Dixon also came to Tamil Nadu on 3 March, 1991 and he established the link between the island, London and KP. He was a radio operator who was coordinating the communication among all the three important leaders of LTTE — Parbhakaran in Sri Lanka, Kittu in London and Kumaran Padmanabhan alias KP abroad.[48] TNRT's trainees also returned to India with Sivrasan who had paid 3 lakh rupees to Ravi in two instalments for purchasing vehicles. Overall he gave more than a million rupees to Ravi. Ravi was introduced to Sivrasan by LTTE Intelligence Wing Chief Pottu Amman. He had come to India with him at the end of December 1991. LTTE was expanding its network in India to commit a series of big offences and it had several targets in its mind. From the end of March 1991, LTTE had made RG its target and they had started to think of assassinating him. Sivrasan had also asked Ravi to asscertain the security arrangement for VIPs at the airport. He was making preparations on many fronts and he explored several possibilities for targeting RG at Delhi and Madras. IB reports of February, March and April 1991 disclosed that Sivrasan was frequently moving in Madras shortly before the assassination.[48] Simultaneously, I had seen LTTE men at CS's *ashram* in March 1991. I did not know who they were, but CS had himself told me that he was busy with LTTE men on that day and therefore he had asked me to come on any other day. It seems that he was conspiring with them to kill RG. The evidence collected by SIT supports my version that LTTE, for the first time, had discussed to assassinate RG in March 1991 itself. Coded wireless messages were being transmitted between the LTTE operatives in Madras and Sri Lanka. These messages were being intercepted by the Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau (SIB), Madras, and were decoded. The message of 22 March, 1991 reads, "(Should) attempt at Madras or at the capital? If in capital, it requires strenuous efforts and sufficient time. If to

attempt on (date) give reply."[49] This message regarding the plan to assassinate RG was transmitted at the same time when CS had held the meeting with LTTE. There is no sustainable evidence to disprove the link of this wireless message with LTTE meeting in Delhi at CS's *ashram*. Earlier CS was more dependent on Sikh militants led by JS Chauhan. After the appearance of the news of surveillance by Haryana Police, CS and associates entrusted the assassination plan to LTTE, though they were still working on a plan to assassinate RG in North India by Khalistanis. Finally, they decided to get RG killed in the South through LTTE.

After taking the contract to assassinate RG from CIA, MOSSAD, SS and CS, the LTTE Chief Parbhakaran summoned Sivrasan to come to the island. Parbhakaran, Pottu Amman, Akila and Sivrasan discussed the plot at length and took all precautions to execute the plan. LTTE leader Pottu Amman and Parbhakaran had directed everyone concerned with the conspiracy to follow the instructions and orders of Sivrasan in India.

Lastly Sivrasan, along with all accused including human bomb Dhanu, Subha, his wireless operator Nehru, driver Anna alias Keerthi and four others, landed at Kodiakkarai, Tamil Nadu, on 1 May, 1991 where they were received by the workers of Shanmugham. They all reached Madras in separate groups. Sivrasan took Dhanu, Subha and Nehru to settle in the house of Vijayan. A high-power clandestine wireless set was installed there. He himself stayed with Jayakumar. Driver Keerthi and accused Suresh stayed in the house of Robert Payas. Vijayan and Jayakumar had already come to India with their wives in September, 1990. Chanderlekha, a pretty girl, had already reached with her granufather Kanagasabapathy in the last week of April 1991. Sivrasan met them and arranged their trip to Delhi for searching the hideout to use her as another human bomb to assassinate RG in the North. Sivrasan's diary reveals that he

took more than 17 lakh rupees from Kanthan and spent lavishly.[54]

Sivrasan was moving from one place to another to supervise the preparation and execution of their plan of killing. He had been directing every player in the plan and communicating with Pottu Amman, the chief of intelligence wing, and Parbhakaran through his wireless set. The wireless intercepts reveal that he had been preparing Dhanu to be human bomb in a planned manner. He had not revealed his plan of the human bomb to Dhanu till 7 May, 1991. He had directed Subha and Nalini to take very good care of her. Next day they rehearsed by participating on a dry run attending the public meeting of VP Singh at Nandanam, Madras. Sivrasan sat in the press enclosure nearest to the dais. Dhanu had attempted to garland VP Singh. Though she failed to reach the dais, she handed over the garland to the former prime minister when he was getting down from the dais. From the day of dry run operation, Dhanu had known her job and therefore next day she and Subha wrote letters in Tamil to Akila, chief of LTTE women's intelligence wing, and Pottu Amman. During this preparation, CS had visited Madras several times and was doing everything to execute his plan. SS and Chautala were his associates and foreign agencies were in constant touch with him.

With the completion of the preparations, Sivrasan informed his bosses in Sri Lanka that he would return as their hero. In a coded message, he said that he was sure of clinching the powder deal (meaning the assassination).[49] With the aim to achieve his goal, Sivrasan utilised the service of a photographer Haribabu for taking photographs and video tapes of vital places. He had joined Vivekananda Nilayam and Sabri College under the cover of acquiring proficiency in English language. He also got a press accreditation card which was fabricated by Haribabu. The improvised explosive device (IED) in the form of a vest-cum waist-belt was provided to LTTE by CS, and Rajinder Jain had definite knowledge of

it. CS had arranged the finance and weaponry consignment in advance with the help of his foreign contacts.

After the fixing of RG's tour programme to Tamil Nadu on 21 May, 1991, Sivrasan was very tense and excited. He went over his plan yet again and issued instructions to all concerned. He directed the photographer Haribabu to purchase a garland on 20 May, 1991 and asked him to wait for them at 5 p.m. on 21 May at Broadway Muffusil bus stand. He further instructed Nalini to take half-day's leave from her office and wait in her house at Villivakkam at 3 p.m. When Sivrasan was busy instructing the other plotters, one day before the assassination, Dhanu became depressed. A few days earlier, she had sprained her ankle coming down the stairs from Nalini's house and was limping. Sivrasan had looked after her and she had recovered, but her suffering from headache only one day before the fateful day was a bad sign which could jeopardise their plot. He relaxed when she became okay. She accompanied Nalini to watch a movie for a night show. Medical treatment was provided to her and she had assured Sivrasan to take it easy as she would play her role the next day at any cost.

Sivrasan visited Haribabu's residence in the morning to remind him of his job in the evening, but he was not there and therefore he left a message for him with his family members. Sivrasan put on white *kurta* and *pyjama* and hid his 9 mm pistol inside a pouch specialy stitched by Jayakumar's wife Shanthi. He posed to be a journalist with a note pad and a pen. Then he proceeded to Vijayana's house at Kodungayur. After his arrival, Dhanu and Subha dressed themselves inside a closed room. Subha wore a saree and Dhanu fastened the belt-bomb around her waist. She wore a special dress, a loose fitting *churidar* over and above the belt bomb. This dress was specially stitched in a shop in Puraswalkam, Madras.

Sivrasan, Subha and assassin Dhanu proceeded to Nalini's house and reached there at 3.15 p.m. From there, all four

went to a nearby temple to offer prayers and then reached Broadway Muffusil bus stand at 5 p.m., where Haribabu was waiting for them with a sandalwood garland which was bought by him from Poompuhar Handicrafts, Mount Road, Madras.

Now the human bomb squad consisting of the above five members travelled by a bus which was going to Kancheepuram via Sriperumbudur. They reached Sriperumbudur at around 7 p.m. All of them ate food in a hotel and they reached the meeting site at 8.30 p.m. after buying flowers. Subha and Nalini sat on the ground along with the audience. Sivrasan, Dhanu and Haribabu were in a state of feverish excitement. Human bomb Dhanu befriended Latha Kannan, a Congress woman, and her daughter Kokila. She stood between them holding the garland in her hands. Haribabu was moving near the dais taking photographs. Sivrasan was moving with scribbling pad and a cloth bag hanging on his shoulder. RG arrived late at about 10.10 p.m. and first he went to garland the statue of Indira Gandhi near the meeting site.

He got out from the car at the red carpet area and walked towards the dais receiving en route garlands and shawls. When Kokila was reciting a Hindi poem and RG was patting her appreciatively, Dhanu suddently came forward from behind and a woman police officer Anusuya tried to stop her. RG told Ansuya politely to take it easy. Then the human bomb reached closer to her target and dropped the garland on the ground. Dhanu bent forward posing either to touch RG's feet or to pick the garland up, smiling towards Anusuya. Haribabu was clicking photograps. When he clicked his tenth photograph, Dhanu had activated the improvised explosive device which was concealed in the waist-cum-vest belt worn by her and there was a loud explosion killing RG, assassin Dhanu, Haribabu and 15 others on the spot at 10.20 p.m. on 21 May, 1991. The deceased included PK Gupta, PSO to RG, Latha Kannan, and her daughter Kokila Vani, Mohammad Iqbal (Superintendent of Police) and Raj Guru,

Edward Joseph, Ethiraj, Murugan, Ravi, Dharman, Mrs Chandra (all police personnel) and Shanthani Begum, Darryl Peter, Sarjoa Devi and ex-MLC Munuswamy. Beside them 44 others were injured, some seriously.

The camera was found on the dead body of Haribabu without any damage. The body of the human bomb was blown to pieces and scattered in different directions. Rajiv's upper-torso was wiped out and only the back of his skull was recognisable. RG's dead body could be identified by his white sports shoes. After 25 minutes RG was taken to the hospital where the hospital staff stitched up RG's body before Sonia Gandhi and Priyanka reached there next day in the morning.

After the assassination, Nehru had sent a coded message on the same night to Parbhakaran informing him that the job was done.[49]

After reaching Jayakumar's house, Subha became upset over Dhanu's death and confined herself in the room for two days. Sivrasan sent a coded message to Pottu Amman on 24 May that Subha was crying all the time and was not eating. Pottu advised him to console Subha by telling her that her name would be written in golden letters in the history of Tamil Eelam.

Top LTTE leaders were worried because they were in apprehension of violence and attack on Sri Lankan Tamils. They had enquired about any violence and attack on Tamils on 22 May.[49]

The assassination of RG was never possible without the involvement of some agencies and highly placed persons in India. If LTTE had killed RG of its own motivation, it would most likely have owned the responsibility. There is no doubt regarding the link in executing the conspiracy with Sikh terrorists and their leader JS Chauhan. CS had told me out of bravado that he had sent Dhanu to kill RG and that he had been financing LTTE Chief Prabhakaran. CS had further told me that he had assigned the job of RG's assassination to both LTTE and Sikh terrorists led by Chauhan for different

places. LTTE had the responsibility to kill him in the South and Chauhan had undertaken the plan to assassinate RG in the North. We cannot even deny that both the groups had tried to kill him at some other places and could not execute the plan due to strict security arrangements. Sikh terrorists had issued a statement on the same night claiming that RG was killed by a device activated by satellite control with a remote. The purpose of this statement was to mislead the probe towards the dim area. This move was on behalf of Chauhan and became evident when he claimed the same the next day before Mahant Sewa Dass Singh on telephone. Mahant had believed him and written a letter to the president about the involvement of Sikh terrorists just after a few days of the assassination. LTTE was the only mercenary to execute the assassination deed at the behest of the plotters. There remains very little doubt about this in the light of coded message of next day, i.e. 22 May, stating that LTTE had informed their contacts in 'higher places' that they had nothing to do with the assassination.[49] It means that LTTE had executed the plan at the behest of their people at higher places and therefore asked them to protect it from being held responsibile for the crime. LTTE hoped that the plotters would campaign on its behalf.

Yasser Arafat's statement is an evidence of the conspiracy and the involvement of foreign agencies. Arafat had also the same information which I had deposed that RG assassination contract was with both the LTTE and Sikh terrorist. I must say that Arafat's statement is very much credible.

HUMAN BOMB ORIGIN

The international and wider conspiracy further get support from the use of human bomb. The assassin girl Dhanu alias Anbu alias Gayatri was daugther of Rajarathinam from his second wife Parameswari and was a resident of Kalladi, Chavakachcheri, in Sri Lanka. She used the improvised

explosive device (IED) in the vest-cum-waist-belt. An IED consists of an explosive, a power source, an initiating mechanism, a detonating mechanism and a case. The material found at the scene of crime in RG case was: (i) pieces of golden power battery, (ii) pieces of toggle switches, (iii) steel pellets, (iv) wires connected to electric detonators, (v) tattered pieces of denim clothes with electrical wires consisting of three layers, with the middle layer being a white line cloth having flaps resembling two ends of the cloth and belt fastened with velcro straps. Near about half kg RDX explosive was used and the IED was a vest-cum-waist belt which was worn by Dhanu on her body. Probably the detonator and RDX were towards the back, and power source and switch mechanism were located in the front. Thus the IED may have been in two parts — front and back. It may have been connected by a fuse connector, and lastly it was connected to the detonator. All the components of IED were sewn in the vest-cum-waist belt and all the joints had been soldered to keep it in one piece and unbreakable. The belt having all components of IED was fixed around the waist with velcro straps. It was fastened tightly to prevent any loose connection. Radio wires were soldered to connect to the 9 V battery and the purpose to use thick wires was to prevent it from breaking.

According to Major Sabharwal's report, which was submitted only the day before the chargesheet, it was the final opinion after extensive trials and laboratory tests. It reads:

(a) The IED was strapped to the woman assassin in form of a vest-cum-waist belt.
(b) The explosive used was RDX-based and approximately 400-600 gm in weight.
(c) Two toggle switches were used, one to arm the device and the other to initiate it.
(d) Steel pellets 2 mm diameter in size were embedded in the explosive for greater lethality.

(e) Golden Power 9 volt cell was used as the power source.
(f) One or more electric detonators were used.

The idea of assassinating RG is supposed to be lifted from Frederick Forsyth's thriller *The Negotiator*. In that novel, a three-inch bomb was planted on a young boy with a wide leather belt which his kindnapper had given him to hold up the denim jeans. The novel's bomb could be detonated by remote control while the human bomb who had killed RG was triggered off by the assassin herself. But this thirller's belt bomb was partly similar to the belt bomb of RG's assassination. Forsyth's belt bomb was activated by the kidnappers of the son of the US president to kill him.

The design of a belt bomb and the idea to use a girl as human bomb could also have originated from another Hollywood thriller *Delta Force*. In this film a scene shows a young girl strapping an explosive device of the belt bomb on her torso before wearing her dress. Then she goes to attend a public function. She walks smiling towards the dais with a bouquet for the VIP. After reaching close to him, she activates the belt bomb assassinating the VIP target and herself. The very serious question arises whether or not the movie *Delta Force* was released before the assassination? Justice Verma who probed the security lapses in Rajiv's assassination case had enquired from SIT chief and IB about this movie and he asked them to find out when it was produced and released in the market. SIT Chief Karthikeyan informed the commission that the *Delta Force's* video cassettes were released in India in August 1991, while the movie was produced in 1990 and its video cassettes were available in the western countries in the first quarter of 1991. The Verma Commission observes:

> It is indeed surprising that even the IB was not aware of the making of such a movie and the availability of its cassette till mentioned by the commission on the basis of a news item in one of the newspapers.

> To anyone who sees the video casette of *Delta Force*, it would be obvious that such a mode of assassination was visualised much earlier in the context of terrorist activity and the idea had crystallised in the form of a movie made much before the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Can it then be said that the mode of assassination of Rajiv Gandhi was so extraordinary and unconventional that it could not be visualised or foreseen with the available intelligence information by efficient intelligence agencies dealing with motivated desperate terrorists trained and highly skilled in the use of unconventional methods and explosives of all kinds?
>
> The intelligence agencies being unaware of this fact indicates the need for improvement of their functioning to keep abreast of professional information/knowledge available anywhere.

It could be that *Delta Force's* idea, design and way of execution was lifted from it to kill RG at Sriperumbudur. However, to claim that LTTE had got the idea after seeing the movie would not be right. If the intelligence agencies of India were not aware of it, it was also not likely that LTTE would know about it. In the light of the above circumstances, the sequence of events indicates that it was a foreign hand that had studied the method to assassinate RG and, after a thorough consideration, the foreign agency and its associates had prepared improvised explosive device in the form of a belt bomb. The origin of the human bomb was a brain-wave from the Hollywood movie *Delta Force*.

In the light of entire evidence, facts and circumstances, it is borne out that RG was assassinated by a wider conspiracy of CIA, MOSSAD and Indian individuals, particularly CS. LTTE was only a mercenary to execute the plan. The master plan was also assigned to Sikh terrorists to kill RG in north India. LTTE and Sikh terrorists were reporting and seeking directions from CS. I had revealed before the Jain

Commission about the conspiracy behind the assassination. Rajinder Jain had been killed before the submission of the Jain Commissin report because the plotter had apprehension of Rajinder Jain's revelation after the tabling of the commission's report. There is independent evidence that CS, SS and Rao had not allowed him to depose before the commission when he was alive. If he had deposed, the whole gamut would have come to light. Despite his deposition, the evidence produced by me before the commission had made the deeper conspiracy come to light. CS and SS know that I had deposed the truth and my evidence would indeed be the main reason of filing a additional chargesheet in RG's assassination case under section 120B of Indian Panel Code along with other sections and provision of the law. I want to thank SS for not criticising me in his book but he would speak ill of me after he reads this book.

I refer to the observation made by Justice Jain concluding his final report. It reads: "Confession said to have been made by Chandra Swami as deposed by Ramesh Dalal and Ramesh Dalal's evidence does establish Chandra Swami's involvement."

Justice Jain further observed:

> It is true that Ramesh Dalal who deposed against Chandra Swami may be one piece of evidence, but finally on the basis of his evidence alone a conclusion cannot be reached. It appears that Ramesh Dalal got the information from Rajinder Jain but Rajinder Jain did not appear in the witness box. Now he is no more in this world and in respect of his death a case of murder has been registered. What evidence was in possession of Rajinder Jain is not known. He did not appear despite issue of warrant and therefore his evidence was dropped.

Justice Jain concludes his report as under:

> It appears Shri Chandra Swami was not on good terms with Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He used to make utterances for

finishing him and also made attempts for his removal from prime ministership. Apart from that, some circumstances have appeared against Chandra Swami in the form of the testimony of Shri Zafar Saifullah, and Chandra Swami's connection with CIA, Adnan Khashogi and Ernie Miller who were having BCCI connection, Mahant Sewa Dass Singh's testimony relating to Shri JS Chauhan's saying that finances can be had from Shri Chandra Swami, testimony of Ramesh Dalal and his own conduct. Taking the entire evidence, material and circumstancial, brought on record into consideration, a doubt does arise regarding Chandra Swami's complicity and involvement. So the matter requires further probe. There are of course gaps and missing links. Unless these gaps are filled and linkages established, the circumstances would continue to raise only doubt.

With this strong observation of the commission, the Government of India entrusted the matter for further probe to Multi Disciplinary Monitoring Agency under CBI after the tabling of the JCI Report in the Parliament with the Action Taken Report. When the matter is still being probed by MDMA, a suspected person SS has written a book on RG's assassination claiming that LTTE alone had killed RG and he, CIA, MOSSAD, Chautala, Rao, Shekhar and CS were not involved. Indeed his book is an attempt to wind up the MDMA and protect the real plotters behind the murder. I want to draw SS's and the reader's attention towards a vital statement of CS issued to the press when he came out on bail after spending 10 months in Tihar Jail. CS was interviewed and he was asked by a corresspondent of *Sunday* magazine if he was determined to keep his mouth shut.

He replied, "I have to. If I open my mouth, an earthquake will result."[56]

This was his warning to the co-accused involved with him in the plot to assassinate RG and he had indicated to them that he might disclose the hidden conspiracy if he was not

absolved from all charges against him. Even earlier CS's thunder had compelled Narasimha Rao and other leaders for which Mohinder Yadav had filed a surety bond of rupees 10 lakh in the court.[42] Later CS and Rao had arranged a Congress ticket for Yadav in the elections of Delhi assembly. Yadav indeed became MLA due to his surety bond for CS. Subramanian Swamy's relations with LTTE, MOSSAD and CIA are amply borne out by the interview he had given to the Washington Bureau Chief of *India Abroad* Aziz Haniffa.

With reference to Swamy's interview a news item appeared in the *Indian Express* on 22 October, 1990 under the caption 'Swamy: I helped LTTE contact Israelis' reporting that it was he who first introduced LTTE to Israelis which led to their consequent training by MOSSAD. He said that in 1985, LTTE representatives in the US had come to him and requested that Swamy use his contact to get them trained militarily by MOSSAD. He immediately telephoned David Kimche whom he knew very well through his Harvard contacts. Kimche was the DG of MOSSAD and Swamy told him to put these guys in touch with David Matnai, the political officer in Washington. Swamy also acknowledged that he had been an early sympathiser of LTTE. Though Swamy had denied it during his cross-examination in the Jain Commission, he changed his version several times. He said that he had never met the reporter. When he was shown the clipping of *Indian Express*, he admitted his meeting but added that he did not discuss LTTE with him. Swamy's denial exposed him when Aziz Haniffa filed an affidavit duly sworn by a notary public and revealed that the above story was true.

Swamy's relation with LTTE further gets support from the book *The Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka* authored by Rohan Gunaratne. The book confirms that Swamy had arranged LTTE training with MOSSAD.

LTTE does get military and terrorist training from Israel — this truth is beyond any doubt in the light of extracts of the book *By Way of Deception* authored by Victor

Ostrovsky and Claire Hoy published by St. Martin's Press, New York (1990 edition).

Above all, Subramanian Swamy's speech, which he delivered in Rajya Sabha on 29 August, 1988 proves that he supported separate Tamil Eelam state and he wanted the Indian Army to go to Colombo. He wanted India to fight against Sri Lanka for achieving the goal of LTTE — like India's intervention in Bangladesh for the creation of that state. The statement of former Cabinet Secretary Zaffar Saifullah leaves no doubt about his link with LTTE and MOSSAD.

The statement of an accused in RG's assassination, Ranganath, supports the above. He revealed that CS was involved in the plot.[53] MDMA has recorded his statement and would have the vital information about the wider conspiracy behind RG's assassination and the role of CS in it.

As discussed above, MDMA has enough evidence to prosecute CS and others. But I know that MDMA shall seek one more extention for the next two years to complete the probe. MDMA has already succeeded in taking permission from the designated court in Chennai.[63] If the Congress and BJP's government support MDMA in the probe, the hidden killers of RG will be unmasked shortly.

DOCUMENT 1

L.G. Pathak.
Park Lane,
Abram,
Wigan,
Lancashire.

14 November 1984

Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Primeminister
of India
1 Safdr Jung Lane
New Delhi
110011

Ref: CGP/LMC

Re. Chandra Swami Maharaj

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Prime Minister,

I have enclosed here with copies of letters which are being sent by the victims of these Swami and I am one of these victims.

I have come forward to write and bring to your kind knowledge what this Swami is.

He has collected, I have been given to understand, approximately 45 million US dollars, by way of using the name of Madam Indira Gandhi, P.V. Narsimha Rao, Romesh Bhandari and other high officals of Indian Government, and Indian Embassies abroad. I have travelled for four months with this Swami and he is absolutely anti-Indira Gandhi, and congress.

Whatever collection he has made his intention is to use this to distribute and obtain support of the opposition parties and he wants to make P.V. Narsimha Rao, to be next Prime Minister.

On another one major point I pray God prove me wrong, but it may not be under-estimating that what ever tragedy happened during the 31 October this Swami may not be involved.

Yours sincerely

L G Pathak

L G PATHAK

Chandra Swamiji Maharaj
H.Q. Sarva Dharma Sambhav
Kendra, S-384 Kailash PartII,
New Delhi, India

Kailash Nath Agarwal
A-267, New Friends Colony,
New Delhi -110065.

Mr Kailash Nath Agarwal proclaims himself to be a Director or Maruti. His telephone Nombers are:-

Office 825689
Residence 636305/632840

The address of Chandra Swami Maharaj is:-
S/384 Greater Kailash
at 2
New Delhi Tel No:- 641453/641655

14th November, Lahubhai Pathak's letter to Rajiv Gandhi

DOCUMENT 2

'राजीव गांधी देश को नेतृत्व दे पाने में नाकाम रहेंगे'

जनसत्ता संवाददाता

नई दिल्ली, ११ दिसंबर। इंका के पूर्व महासचिव श्याम सुंदर महापात्र का कहना है कि प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी देश को नेतृत्व देने में असफल रहेंगे। श्रीमती गांधी के मरने के बाद इंका अप्रासंगिक हो गई है क्योंकि उसे एक चौकड़ी चला रही है।

प्रो महापात्र नौ राज्यों का दौरा कर यहां पहुंचने के बाद आज जनसत्ता संवाददाता से बात कर रहे थे। उन्होंने कहा कि १३० इंका सांसद विद्रोही उम्मीदवार के तौर पर चुनाव लड़ रहे हैं। इससे वह इंका को दो फाड़ होने के कगार पर खड़ा मानते हैं। उनका कहना है कि चुनाव खत्म होते ही लोकतांत्रिक ताकतों की एकजुटता का दौर शुरू होगा। बागी महापात्र को उम्मीद है कि राजीव गांधी की अनुभवहीनता और उनकी चौकड़ी से अपमानित अनुभवी नेता पार्टी से निकल आएंगे।

उत्तर-पूर्वी राज्यों, ओडिसा, मध्य प्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र के दौरे में मिली जानकारियों के हवाले से उन्होंने बताया कि इंका जिस हमदर्दी के वोट की उम्मीद लगाए बैठी है वह घट रही है। अगर इंका को बहुमत मिला भी तो मामूली फर्क होगा। सरकार के गठन के सवाल पर उन्हें पार्टी में दोफाड़ के आसार नजर आ रहे हैं।

प्रो. महापात्र का कहना है कि श्रीमती गांधी को पं. नेहरू से राजनीति की ४० साल की ट्रेनिंग मिली थी। पर राजीव गांधी को यह मौका नहीं मिला। उनका साफ-सुथरी और ईमानदार सरकार देने का वादा थोथा है। इसका सबसे बड़ा सबूत ओडिसा की मौजूदा सरकार है। उन्होंने कहा कि चार सितंबर १९८४ को प्रेस के जरिए उन्होंने ओडिसा की सरकार पर बहुत गंभीर आरोप लगाए। उन आरोपों के पक्ष में सबूत भी प्रधानमंत्री को दिया। लेकिन राजीव गांधी ने जानकी वल्लभ पटनायक को बचाया।

१९८० से १९८२ तक प्रो. महापात्र इंका के महासचिव थे। जनता शासन में वह श्रीमती गांधी के छाया विदेश मंत्री माने जाते थे। उनका कहना है कि महासचिव काल में उन्होंने राजीव गांधी को करीब से डेढ़ साल तक देखा। वह मिलनसार और हंसमुख हैं। लेकिन चौकड़ी के जाल में फंस गए हैं। यह चौकड़ी बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों की एजेंट है।

पूर्व इंका महासचिव ने चार सितंबर को जो बयान जारी किया उसमें ओडिसा में अपराधों की तादाद गिनाने के अलावा भ्रष्टाचार के अनेक मामलों की सी.बी.आई. से जांच की मांग की। फिर भी श्रीमती गांधी ने उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की। प्रो. महापात्र का कहना है कि श्रीमती गांधी की हत्या के १५ दिन बाद उन्हें पार्टी से चौकड़ी ने निकलवाया।

Statement of Mohapatra 12th December, 1984 in *Jansatta*

DOCUMENT 3

'Loyalists' memo against Rajiv

Hindustan Times Correspondent

NEW DELHI, 16 Sept., Seven top-ranking "Indira loyalists" today drew President Zail Singh's attention to the "grave situation" being faced by the country with a foreign power occupying part of its territory and forces of "disruption and disunity" threatening it internally.

In a memorandum submitted to the President, during their 25-minute meeting with him, the "Indira loyalists" appealed to him to "respond to our submission in the manner you consider best and appropriate "

The memorandum, signed by former Union Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee and six others, reminded the President that he was the custodian of the Constitution, which "entrusts you with the responsibility of preserving the unity and integrity of our nation", and added that as the head of the state "you have the right to advise and warn the Government and to be informed and consulted by them."

The other leaders who accompanied Mr Mukherjee were Mr Prakash Mehrotra, former Governor of Assam, Mr R Gundu Rao, former Chief Minister of Karnataka, Mr Shyam Sunder Mohapatra, former AICC general secretary, Dr Sisir Bose, MLA, Mr F.M. Khan, former treasurer of the Congress-I Parliamentary Party and Mr Ashok Bhattacharya, leader of the (Congress-I) Opposition in Tripura.

The seven-page memorandum was like a charge-sheet against the Rajiv Government, but the main thrust of the accusations is primarily on "appeasement" of secessionists and separatists, the recent Chinese incursion in Arunachal Pradesh, and the alleged dilution of the economic policies pursued by Mrs Indira Gandhi.

Replying to questions, Mr Mukherjee said his group had not demanded the dismissal of the Government headed by Mr Gandhi. All that he aspired was to defeat the Government in the election and to form a government if sufficient support was forthcoming. Nonetheless he quoted Art 75 of the Constitution to say that the "Council of Ministers remained in office during the pleasure of the President", read with the proviso that it enjoyed majority support in the House of the People.

Constitutional niceties apart, the memorandum went hammer and tongs against the "accords" signed by the Government in the recent past, especially the Mizoram one. This particular accord, signed with a person "who declared war against the country, sought political asylum in a foreign country, caused loss of lives of hundreds of security personnel and civilians .will seriously jeopardise the nationalist forces in the north-eastern region. .", it said. Also criticising the Assam and Punjab accords, the memorandum said "the instrument of accords is taken to the point of ridicule in arriving at such instant solutions" to all complicated problems

Referring to the Chinese incursion and construction of a helipad in Arunachal Pradesh, the memorandum said "this is not simple dereliction of duty but criminal negligence on the part of Government "

The memorandum also condemned the Gorkhaland agitation In reply to questions Mr Mukherjee said he was opposed to it just as he was to all secessionist movements In his opinion such movements had to be dealt with firmly. No appeasement of such elements should be resorted to, he said.

Mr Mukherjee referred to the "dilution" of the MRTP Act, FERA and import substitution and said that while the previous Government had decided not to draw the entire amount of the IMF loan, the present Government was approaching even the Asian Development Bank for a peltry loan $ 120 million.

"The style of functioning of the Union Government is utterly undesirable. Frequent changes in ministerial and other offices is in the style of a musical chair and has injected uncertainty and instability in the system..." the memorandum said and made oblique references to Mr Sathe's airing has views on the public sector.

It also accused the Government of resorting to character assassination of opponents by misuse of official positions and media and added that "some chosen politicians, businessmen and bureaucrats, etc., because of their proximity to the seat of power are considered to be above the law "

Mr Mukherjee said his group did no plan any agitation. It was only building up public opinion. The "national convention of Congress I" men, he said, would be held before the end of the year in Delhi, to be preceded by three State-level ones in Assam, Tripura and Orissa in November.

Hindustan Times, Dated: 17 September, 1996

DOCUMENT 4

Phone : 3011652

ALL INDIA CONGRESS (I) WORKERS CONVENTION

18, WILLINGDON CRESCENT ROAD, NEW DELHI - 110 001

Dated 25-12-86

My dear friend,

May I wish you a happy New Year and all the best for the coming year.

You may be aware that a Convention of Congress workers is being convened at New Delhi to discuss the present state of affairs in the country in general and the Congress Party in particular. It is estimated that about 3000 Congress Workers from different parts of the country will participate in the Convention.

I feel as a Congressman (though) expelled from the Party for the reasons yet to be told) I must explain to you what prompted us to hold the Convention. Before and after my expulsion some of the Congressmen were discussing among ourselves and with a large number of Congressmen about the developments which are taking place in the country and in the party. We desired to draw the attention of the leadership to those developments and in our humble way suggested some concrete measures to be adopted to arrest the deterioration taking place down the line. Instead of giving any hearing to our view points, myself and Shri Gundu Rao were summarily expelled from the party and a few other senior leaders were placed under suspension without any formality or giving any chance of being heard. We were left with no other option but to go to the Congress masses in the country who have kept this organisation alive and strong for the last one hundred years. A large number of meetings were addressed and two State level Conventions were held at Calcutta and Bangalore.

Now we feel that the Congressmen must express themselves from a National forum and hence this Convention of Congress (I) Workers.

After the tragic assassination of Indiraji Congress men showed exemplary political sagacity in choosing a permanent incumbent to the office of Prime Ministership by removing the uncertainity and filling the void. People of the country lent their support to the new leader with an unprecedented majority in Lok Sabha elections in December 1984, with high hopes that unity and integrity of the nation will be protected and forces of disruption and dis-integration will be crushed.

But, unfortunately, their hopes were belied. Instead of solving the burning problems in Punjab, Assam, etc. a series of accords were made and an impression was created that union government could be pressurised by manifestation of violence organised by a strong determined minority group. Problems of terrorism and violent actions crossed the borders of Punjab and Assam and spread over in West Bengal, Tripura and in many other parts.

Casual, inept and ad-hoc handling of serious issues eroded the credibility of the Government. Congressmen shocked and bewildered thought "quo vadis". Congress Party became the first casualty of these Accords and wherever they were implemented Congress organisation was virtually liquidated there.

On the economic front the new leadership has deviated from its committed socialist approach. Increasing dependence on market forces and foreign collaborations, liberalised import policy, dilution of MRTP and FERA Acts, ridiculing Public Sector Enterprises from high places, heavy doses of internal and external borrowings and high rates of inflation are the outcome of new economic policies of the Government.

I wonder whether as Congressmen we are to do something or remain as mere onlookers when the very existence of our nation, of this great organisation and of the values which we cherish so much are threatened. I feel it is time for us to act. We have no grudge against any individual. But in history a time comes when nation deserves more attention and care than individual and perhaps that time has come. Hence on the eve of this National Convention, we solicit your presence, good wishes and cooperation.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(PRANAB MUKHERJEE)
CONVENOR
STEERING COMMITTEE

Pranab Mukherjee's letter to Congressmen for seeking their support against RG

DOCUMENT 5

STATEMENT

A government without competence or character is now trying to intimidate and mow down every one who in its fevered imagining it even suspects of being a witness of its black deals or possessed of incriminating information or potentiality of procuring it.

The Indian Express which has spearheaded the investigations into the Bofors deals and Bachchans' offences is facing about 150 prosecutions, a thumping record for an administration with proved propensity to protect thieves. The latest is Chandraswami who admittedly counts amongst his followers some of the most powerful and glamourous men and women the world over. Not even his worst enemies have been able to accuse him of having made a farthing out of the Government of India or stolen a penny from the pockets of poor Indians. Unfortunately for him he was present at the Indian Express guest house in March last when the famous C.B.I. raid took place there. From the day of his last arrival in India almost six months ago he has been the special object of the government's reprisals all based on arbitrary and dishonest use of Police Power of all kinds.

Swamiji comes to India every year for 2 or 3 months. Why then did the FERA authorities rake up incidents of 1982 and earlier which had been investigated and abandoned as useless many years ago? The High Court of Delhi while permitting Swamiji to go abroad rightly commented that the authorities have not satisfactorily explained what they were doing during the intervening years.

When FERA failed C.B.I. took over. Again some disgruntled Lakhubhai of England has written to the C.B.I. that Swamiji cheated him of 1,00,000 US Dollars in New York in 1983. He complained in September, 1987. How come Swamiji and his associate were arrested late on Saturday night on 13th February, 1988? The facts speak for themselves. Why, one asks, was no complaint of fraud made earlier in New York or London? Lakhubhai was waiting for a plaint and hospital C.B.I. helping Rajiv Gandhi to cover his tracks.

Stories have appeared in the Indian press that evidence of the Rajiv kickbacks is with Swamiji's friends. Reports also mention that he was evidence of the kickbacks directly from the then President of Bofors, Martin Ardbo, who negotiated the deal with the then Defence Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Clearly, this is why the government is harassing this man and his associates.

contd.

The manner of government's dealing with Swamiji, and the contrast with the manner in which it is refusing to do anything to bring to book the man whose defalcations have now been proven, namely Ajitabh Bachchan, establishes many disquieting facts:

1. A corrupt Prime Minister cannot continue in office without destroying the integrity of every law enforcement agency.
2. A corrupt government cannot co-exist with an honest Parliament, honest bureaucracy and honest judiciary. It will bend them and make them accessories to its crimes.
3. No respectable citizen is safe if in the interests of the people he sets out or even on the wildest rumour is suspected of having set out to unearth the corruption of governmental operations.
4. The efforts of the government to paralyse temporarily or permanently any citizens seen to be a threat by the simple device of engineering false cases and imposing restraints on basic rights of free movement on the pretext of investigations is a gross perversion of the processes of law.

Freedom is indivisible. What is being done to Swamiji today will be extended to others tomorrow. We therefore appeal to all ordinary citizens as well as persons specifically charged with the duty to uphold the law, activists as well as politicians to join forces and stay the hand that today strikes at the freedom of one institution after another, one citizen after another.

Chandra Shekhar 3.3.88

3.3.88

3.3.88

(K.P UNNIKRISHNAN) 5/3/88

Satya Pal Malik

R.S.

(A. RANJAN)

(AGP)

R.S.C.

11/3/88 General Secretary

MP

DR DATTA SAMANT

DOCUMENT 6

साप्ताहिक

जनाधार

राजीव हत्याकांड

चन्द्रास्वामी की गिरफ्तारी क्यों नहीं?

Rajinder Jain's weekly newspaper *Janadhar*, 12th July, 1991

DOCUMENT 7

4 scribes held for possessing explosives

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, July 30 – Delhi Police on Monday night arrested four journalists after it recovered high-powered explosives from their Maruti van.

The van, No. DL-2C 1370, was parked at the Panchkuin Road parking, Palika Place, when the officials of Crime Branch swooped upon it. A high-powered explosive weighing around 2 kilograms – "It was not a bomb," the DCP (New Delhi), Mrs Kanwaljeet Deol clarified to ENS – a battery and a detonator were recovered from the van. The battery and detonator were not connected to the explosive, but were found under the back seat of the van.

The van belonged to Rajinder Jain, editor of *Saptahik Janadhar Bharti*, a local weekly. Three other journalists, Manmohan, Ranjab Zaidi and Shalakh Bathoria, from the same publication, were also held. The four were released at around 5 a.m. on Tuesday. According to Mrs Deol, "The investigations are in full swing." The guilty won't be spared, she added.

Mr Rajinder Jain, in a statement to the police, has accused the godman Chandraswamy of planting the device in his van. He had invited the latter's wrath for repeatedly writing against the man in his publication, Mr Rajinder claimed.

The police, however, have not swallowed the story. If "elimination" of Rajinder and others was the motive, why was the battery and detonators not attached to the explosive (consisting mostly of gelatine), they seem to argue.

Information about the bomb lying in the van was given to the Police Control Room by an anonymous telephone caller at 10 pm. on Monday. The PCR, in turn, alerted the district police and the Crime Branch. The explosive was extracted from the van by the ACP (Crime Branch), Mr Brajesh Kumar Singh.

Press statement of Rajinder Jain published on 31st July, 1991 in *Indian Express*

DOCUMENT 8

जनाधार

43, पालिका प्लेस, पंचकुईयां रोड, नई दिल्ली-1 फोन : 343303

क्रमांक.............. दिनांक 31-जुलाई-91

स्नेही श्री रमेश जी
सेनापति हरियाणा सेना
परसों रात को एक अजीब हादसा
मेरे साथ गुजरा कि मेरी गाड़ी में कुछ विस्फोटक
सामान किसी ने रख कर मुझे फंसाने की असफल
अन्य किसी साजिश की कोशिश की।
मेरा सारा संदेह — चन्द्रा स्वामी और
उसके किसी समर्थक की ओर जाता है
मैं आपकी हरियाणा सेना से लगातार जुड़ा
रहा गांव-गांव जाकर एक सामान्य ही नहीं
एक जागरूक नागरिक का कर्तव्य निभाया है
यह चिट्ठी मेरे अखबार और मेरे लैटर
हैड पर है ~~आप~~ अपने स्तर पर इस मामले
में मदद करें।
राजेन्द्र

आचार्य महावीर प्रसाद द्विवेदी हिन्दी पत्रकारिता संस्थान का साप्ताहिक पत्र

Handwritten note Rajinder Jain to Ramesh Dalal of 31st July, 1991

DOCUMENT 9

Mahapanchayat to back Sonia after Mahajan's comments

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Sept. 1. — The Rashtriya Mahapanchayat, an organisation of farmers, transporters, ex-servicemen, labourers and those belonging to other weaker sections of society, has decided to support Ms Sonia Gandhi and the Congress party. This was declared by Mr Ramesh Dalal, head of the mahapanchayat, here today.

While criticising Mr George Fernandes and Mr Pramod Mahajan for their uncalled for personal remarks against Ms Gandhi.

He said earlier he and his supporters were not in favour of backing any particular party in this elections, but the BJP and its allies insulting Ms Gandhi had made them change minds.

Mr Dalal, who is also president of the National Transport Panchayat, appealed to transporters, ex-servicemen, labourers and villagers to teach the Prime Minister, Mr A B Vajpayee, and other ministers a lesson.

Mr Dalal announced the induction of a war widow, Ms Geeta Dodd, into his organisation. Her husband, Major S R Dogra, laid down his life in the 1971 Indo-Pak war.

Ms Dodd attacked the Prime Minister on the Kargil issue. Mr Dalal and Ms Dodd demanded Mr Fernandes' dismissal for having insulted the widow of Rajiv Gandhi, a martyr.

Statesman dated 2 September, 1998

सोनिया रैली के लिए 'फ्री बसें'

राष्ट्रीय परिहवन पंचायत के अध्यक्ष रमेश दलाल ने कहा है कि कल रामलीला मैदान में सोनिया गांधी की रैली में जाने वालो से प्राइवेट बसों में टिकट नहीं लिया जाएगा। रैली के लिए 'पंचायत' के सदस्यों के परिवारों के करीब 20 हजार लोगों को भी लाया जा रहा है

पूर्वी दिल्ली से कांग्रेसी प्रत्यांशी श्रीमती शीला दीक्षित के समर्थन में मलस्वा जहांगीर पुरी और गांव कुशाक नम्बर दो में ग्राम प्रधानो की सभा हुई। इस सभा मे शीलादीक्षित का समर्थन जुटाने की अपील की गई। जिला युवक कांग्रेस के महासचिव खेमचंद सैनी ने सभा को सम्बोधित किया।

Sandhya Times
dated 12the February, 1998

Blueline free

EN Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Feb 12—The Rashtriya Parivahan Panchayat has announced that all those who come to attend the rally of Mrs Sonia Gandhi tomorrow at Ramlila Grounds would be allowed free travel in the Blueline buses.

National president of the Panchayat Ramesh Dalal said this morning that this was being done to welcome Mrs Gandhi's first rally in the capital. Dalal said that some 20,000 transporters would also attend the rally.

Evening News of HT
dated 12th February, 1998

DOCUMENT 10

चंद्रा स्वामी को तुरन्त गिरफ्तार किया जाए- रमेश दलाल

संवाददाता

नई दिल्ली, उपराज्यपाल मार्कण्डेय सिंह की पुलिस यह भली भांति जानती है कि तथाकथित चंद्रास्वामी विभिन्न काली करतूतों में लिप्त हैं, और जिसके सारे प्रमाण भी उसे मुहैया करा दिए गए हैं लेकिन इसके बावजूद दिल्ली की पुलिस उन्हें गिरफ्तार क्यों नहीं करती ?

यह बात पिछले दिनों नेताजी सुभाष सेना के अध्यक्ष चौधरी रमेश दलाल ने अखबार वालों से बातचीत के दौरान कही। उन्होंने कहा कि पिछले दिनों वरिष्ठ इंकां नेता रत्नाकर पांडे ने भी चंद्रास्वामी पर बोफोर्स तथा तमाम अपराधिक मामलों पर आरोप लगाया था, कि उन पर तमाम अपराधिक मामलें हैं उन्हें तुरन्त गिरफ्तार किया जाए, लेकिन गिरफ्तार क्यों नहीं किया गया ?

श्री दलाल ने एक अन्य सवाल के उत्तर में बताया कि चंद्रास्वामी के आश्रम, दक्षिण दिल्ली में अपराधिक तत्वों जिन. पर कई हत्यारों के केस दर्ज हैं, का अड्डा बना हुआ है ये तत्व चंद्रास्वामी की सुरक्षा का कार्य सम्भालने का दावा तो करते ही हैं बल्कि स्वामी के आदेश पर खरीद फरोख्त से संबंधित अनेक मामलों में दबाव और आतंक का काम करते हैं। श्री दलाल ने कहा कि प्रधानमंत्री कार्यालय में जो कुछ होता है उसकी जानकारी हर पल चंद्रास्वामी को मिलती रहती है।

श्री दलाल ने नरसिंहराव सरकार को चेतावनी दी है कि अगर सरकार दस दिन के अन्दर चंद्रास्वामी को गिरफ्तार नहीं करती या इनके खिलाफ विशेष जांच आयोग नहीं बैठाया जाता तो इसके विरोध में आन्दोलन चलाया जाएगा। उन्होंने दिल्ली पुलिस पर आरोप लगाया है कि श्री स्वामी के खिलाफ सभी मामलों को जानबूझ कर दबाया जा रहा है क्योंकि इसमें कथित चन्द्रास्वामी का भी हाथ है।

श्री दलाल ने कहा कि सरकारी निवास को यदि तांत्रिक गुरु मनहूस कह दें तो मंत्री उसमें रहना पसंद नहीं करता। उन्होंने कहा कि वह, वही चंद्रास्वामी हैं जिसके ढोंग और काले कारनामें भारत वर्ष की जन-जन के जुबान पर हैं। उन्होंने इस बात का भी रहस्योद्घाटन किया कि चंद्रास्वामी का वास्तविक नाम नेमीचंद जैन है यह पैसे लेकर मंत्री व प्रधानमंत्री से काम करवाने का भी दावा करते हैं।

श्री दलाल ने कहा कि पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी ने श्री स्वामी के ऊपर सी. बी. आई. का छापा डलवाया था और केस दर्ज करवाया था लेकिन कुछ समय बाद ही श्री वी पी सिंह ने राजीव मंत्रिमण्डल से इस्तीफा दे दिया था इसके बाद बोफोर्स कांड उछला। उन्होंने यह भी बताया कि पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह के पुत्र अजय सिंह पर जो यह आरोप लगा था कि उनका बैंक खाता है वास्तविकता तो यह है कि श्री स्वामी जी ने ही उनका खाता गुप्त रुप से विदेशी बैंक में खुलवा दिया था।

Press cutting of September 1991 (*Janadhar*)

चंद्रास्वामी की गिरफ़्तारी की मांग

(हमारे कार्यालय संवाददाता द्वारा)

नई दिल्ली, ४ सितम्बर। नेताजी सुभाष सेना ने चन्द्रास्वामी की गिरफ़्तारी की मांग की है। सुभाष सेना ने सरकार को दस दिन के अन्दर-अन्दर चन्द्रास्वामी को गिरफ़्तार नहीं करने पर धरना देने या जेल भरो आन्दोलन चलाने की भी चेतावनी दी है।

आज यहां एक संवाददाता सम्मेलन में नेताजी सुभाष सेना के सेनापति चौ. रमेश दलाल ने आरोप लगाया कि स्वामी जी सेंट किट्स से लेकर फेयर फैक्स आदि मामलों से सम्बन्धित हैं। स्वामीजी के विरुद्ध कई मामले सी. बी. आई. में दर्ज हैं। यहां तक कि वरिष्ठ इंका नेता रत्नाकर पांडे ने सार्वजनिक रूप से राजीव हत्याकांड में चन्द्रास्वामी का हाथ होने का आरोप लगाया है।

अतः सुभाष सेना ने मांग की है कि सबसे पहले चन्द्रास्वामी का पासपोर्ट जब्त किया जाना चाहिए और गिरफ़्तारी के साथ-साथ एक जांच आयोग का गठन भी किया जाए। सेना ने यह भी मांग की है कि हाल ही में मारुति में जो बम मिला है, इसकी जांच सी बी आई से होनी चाहिए।

Ramesh Dalal demanded CS's arrest — 5th September 1991 (*Jansatta*)

DOCUMENT 11

☎ : 5415607

R. K. GUPTA & CO.

Advocates

[CIVIL, CRIMINAL, LABOUR LAWS & TRADE MARK ATTORNEY]

Office : WZ-27, Manohar Park, Rohtak Road, New Delhi - 11 00 26

Chamber : 2, Central Circular Wing, Criminal Side, Opp. Telephone Exchange Tis Hazari Courts, Delhi-11 00 54

Ravinder K. Gupta
Advocate
Delhi High Court

Ref No......................... *Dated*......22•2•1992•.......

Regd• A•D•

To

The Home Secretary,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
Govt• of India,
New Delhi•

Dear Sir,

Under instructions received from and on behalf of Sh• Ramesh Dalal Senapati, Netaji Subhash Sons, 47, Prem Nagar, Najfgarh, New Delhi-110043, I serve you with the following notice of facts:-

1• That the Chandra Swami the most contraversial person is found to be involved in several cases such as illegal Arms Deals, financial bunglings, Voilation of FERA, GOLD, & COSTOM , fraud, cheating, conspiracy, murder and black-mailing• His involvement in the above cases has been evident from several sources•

2• Chandra Swami,the contraversial Godman is involved in the following cases:-

a)• Chandra Swami had hand in obtaining for India fire trucks for airports, U•S• made Gun, Medium mobility trucks, 24/26 guns, tow trucks, MAC-8 Ton and Towed, Howitzer FH-77,Sweedis gun•

.....2/-

- 2 -

b). Chandra Swami had link with the International Arms Dealer Mr. Adnan Khashoggi. Chandra Swami had hand in depositing a huge amount in the BCCI Bank, Monte Carlo for the personal use of Adnan Khashoggi.

c). Chandra Swami's closed and confident associate Mr.K.N Aggarwal @ Mamaji is also involved in several cases of voilation of FERA, CUSTOMS and Income Tax.

d). Chandra Swami and his associates had unaccounted

Properties to the tune of Rs.151 lacks approx. which was recovered from them during the raid in Feb.,1988. The fact contained in reply by Hon'ble Minister of State for Finance in Lok Sabha.

e). Chandra Swami had hand in planting a High Powered Explosive in a Maruti Van No. DL-2C-1370 owned by Sh. Rajinder Jain, Editor of Sapatahik Janadhar, a local Paper. The case was registered in Mandir Marg Police Station in July, 1990 . Mr. Rajinder Jain in his first publication demanded the arrest of Godman Chandra Swami and in the second issue he stated that he was receiving threats. Previously Mr. Jain was closely associated with Godman Chandra Swami and claims to know each and every thing about Chandra Swami.

f). Chandra Swami also alleged to had hand in the Rajiv Gandhi's assasination.

g). The Godman Chandra Swami is the most influential person in the world and he posed to be powerful in Indian politics and decides the fate of the Govts. He has links with the top Political leaders of different Parties. He is a black mailer and deals in Sale Purchase of Government, P.M. and M.P.s.

Once he tried to use Giani Zail Singh then president of India to damage the Rajiv Gandhi and was ready to spend Rs.40 crore. He was claiming to possess one Audio Tape containing conversation regarding Rajiv Gandhi's involvement in Arms Deal. He used to black-mail the politicians and other eminent persons by using the girls like Pamella Bordes as a Sex Bait. Pamella was also his victims.

h). Chandra Swami claims to help the Prime Minister P.V. N. Rao in becoming the Prime Minister after the death of Rajiv Gandhi.

......3/-

- 3 -

i). Sh. Pinaki Mishra, The Legal Adviser of Chandra Swami has now been made O.S.D. (unofficial) in Prime-Minister's office and in this way Chandra Swami is menting money like any thing by using the Prime Minister and his office. He is induIged in cheating the businessman and Indastrilis in the name of Prime Minister.

j). Chandra Swami is possessed off huge money which he is using for the financing of election of the politicians of different parties therefore he is becoming more and more powerful to run his illegal activities.

k). Chandra Swami being an International Arms Dealer and Agent of Foreign powers might have been supplying the Arms and Explosive to the militants of India through his International Gang.

l). Chandra Swami also have close relation with some foreign contraversial personalities and he leaks information secret documents to them being Godman of high power politicians and administrators.

3. Although in some cases the C.B.I. is conducting enquiry but the enquiry is too slow to give any fruitful result. The delay in the matter proves him so powerful in the eyes of public and above law.

I, therefore, through this notice call upon you to please appoint or conduct a judicial enquiry into the matter in the public interest by a sitting jadge of Supreme Court within 15 days of the receipt of this notice, failing which my client shall have left with no alter-native but to take appropriate legal action into the matter in the larger interest of the public and in the interest of soverignity, intigrity and democracy of India. A copy of this notice is also sent to Chandra Swami at his place at C-4/41, G.D.A., New Delhi, while another copy is kept in my office for record.

Yours faithfully,

Delhi/Dt.22.2.1992.

(Ramesh Dalal) (Ravinder Gupta)
Advocate

Residence : WZ 27, Manohar Park, Rohtak Road. New Delhi-11 00 26

Legal notice to Home Secretary

DOCUMENT 12

A. CHIMAN LAL

[redacted]

To 09.04.1992

Hon'ble Home Minister
Govt. of India
4, Krishna Menon Marg
New Delhi.

Respected sir,

Kind Attn : Hon'ble Minister S.B. CHAVAN

Sub : A My Political Correspondence

B Matter in respect of Bank account Abroad of the Political Leaders.

C Some Papers about so called Holly Chandra Swami

As per my last meeting with you on 8th April 1992 at 9:30 a.m. at your residence I am enclosing herewith certain relevant letters and correspondence on the above subjects for your knowledge.

I request you sir, to go through the papers and take necessary action in the interest of our leader and the Prime Minister Hon'ble Narshim Raoji, the Govt and Party. I shall give my full co-operation as and when your Hon require.

I am a great supporter of our beloued leaders late Smt. Indira Gandhi & Shri Rajiv Gandhi I have a great respect for our leader Hon'ble Narshimraoji also.

I pray to God for your long healty life.

Thanking you,

with great respect

A. Chiman

[A. CHIMAN LAL]

A-8 GREEN PARK EXT. NEW DELHI-110 016. PHONE : 661185

PAPERS IN RESPECT OF SO CALL HOLLY CHANDRA SWAMI GODMAN

1. Press Publication in weekly paper "**Janadhar**" in respect of the arrest of Holly chandra Swami as his involvement in Shri Rajiv Gandhi Assoaciation.

2. A letter addressed to Shri Ramesh Dalal by the editor of "**Janadhar**" in respect of Bomb Explosion.

3. Press Publication Express News Service dated 30.7.1991 4 scribes held for possessing explosives.

4. Press Publication dated 31.10.1991 "Chandra Swami Mamaji involved in arms deals, financial bunglings.

5. Press Publication by current Mamaji Exposes Guru.

6. Copy of the notice to Home Sect. in respect of Shaddy deeds of Chandra Swami by Advocate R.K. Gupta & Co. dated 22.2.1992.

7. A copy of the writ petition in Hon'ble Supreme Court.

8. Desire to write a request letter to Hon'ble Prime Minister Shri Narshim Raoji to be aloof from the company of Chandra Swami.

The list of papers enclosed with Chiman Lal's letter to SB Chavan

DOCUMENT 13

DINESH K. GARG
Advocate
Supreme Court of India

BY REGD.POST A.D.

Office :
26, Lawyers Chambers,
Supreme Court Compound,
Tilak Marg,
New Delhi-110001
Phones : 387903, 386654
Residence :
C-22, Sector-14,
Noida-203001 (U.P.)
Ph. : 89-29763, 89-53299

To

The Chief Commissioner of Income Tax,
Central Revenue Building,
I.T.O.,
New Delhi.

25th Feb. 1994.

Dear Sir,

Sub: Writ Petition(C) No. 390/1993.
Ramesh Dalal Vs. Union of India & Ors.

- - - -

I, on behalf of my client namely Shri Ramesh Dalal who had filed the aforesaid writ petition No. 390/93 in the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi at New Delhi, do hereby request you to disclose as to what action has been taken by you so far against Shri Chandraswamy r/o C-441 S.D.A., South Delhi, who was found in possession of property worth several hundred crores and unaccounted money of several hundred crores. A statement was made by the counsel appearing on behalf of the respondents that proceedings and investigations will be completed against Shri Chandraswamy by the end of December, 1993 but till this date neither the investigation has been completed, nor any action has been taken by you though a period of about 10 years has already passed. Kindly inform me immediately as to what investigation has been done against Shri Chandraswamy and as to what action has been taken. Copy of the order dt 21-5-1993 passed by the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi at New Delhi is enclosed herewith.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
(D.K. GARG)
ADVOCATE
for Shri Ramesh Dalal/Petitioner in
Writ Petition No. 390 of 1993.

Encl: As above.

Letter of DK Garg to the Chief Income Tax Commissioner

DOCUMENT 14

BEFORE THE JAIN COMMISSION OF ENQUIRIES: VIGYAN BHAWAN, NEW DELHI

MISCELLANEOUS APPLICATION BY RESIDENTS OF VILLAGE CHHARA DISTRICT ROHTAK, HARYANA, IN RESPECT OF SHRI RAMESH DALAL

Sir,

The applicants submit as under:

1. That they are all Residents of Village Chhara District Rohtak, Haryana. They know Ramesh Dalal, who is also resident of Haryana although of a different village.
2. On 13th December, 1995 on asking of the villagers and different Village Panchayats we had come along with Ramesh Dalal to provide him security when he was supposed to appear before this Hon'ble Commission as a witness. We had obtained passes from the officials and have attended the proceedings of the Hon'ble Commission on that day.
3. After the proceedings were over it was 4.30 p.m., Ramesh Dalal and we had left together from the Vigyan Bhawan itself to Najafgarh, Delhi at the residence of Ramesh Dalal, where we reached around about 6 p.m. We stayed at his residence for one hour and then went to our village in Haryana. Ramesh Dalal remained with us throughout the proceedings and after the proceedings upto 7 p.m. either at the Commission, Vigyan Bhawan or on the way to Najafgarh or at his house in Najafgarh. He had not gone elsewhere. He did not meet any body during this period.
4. Anybody claiming that Ramesh Dalal had gone to Sarita Vihar on 13.12.1995 at about 6 p.m. is just telling lies for motivations.

We are prepared to appear as a witness before the Commission if Commission wants.

Dt. 29/12/95

Yours faithfully,

1 राजेश *S/o* श्री प्रताप सिंह
2 संजय *S/o* श्री टेक राम
3 जसबीर सिंह *S/o* श्री राजेन्द्र सिह
4 धर्मबीर *S/o* श्री दुलीचन्द
5 दीपचन्द *S/o* श्री प्रताप सिंह
6 नरेन्द्र *S/o* श्री रामफल
7 संजय *S/o* श्री जयपाल
8 ओमप्रकाश *S/o* श्री उमेद सिंह
9 मुकेश *S/o* श्री चन्द्राम
10 नरेन्द्र *S/o* श्री गोरधन
11 बिजेन्द्र *S/o* श्री चन्दर सिंह
12 जयसिंह *S/o* श्री निहाल सिंह
13 महताब सिंह *S/o* श्री रणजीत सिंह

DOCUMENT 15

BEFORE THE JAIN COMMISSION OF ENQUIRIES: VIGYAN BHAWAN, NEW DELHI

MISCELLANEOUS APPLICATION BY RESIDENTS OF VILLAGE CHHARA DISTRICT ROHTAK, HARYANA, IN RESPECT OF SHRI RAMESH DALAL

Sir,

The applicants submit as under:

1. That they are all residents of Village Chhara District Rohtak, Haryana. They know Ramesh Dalal, who is also resident of Haryana although of a different village.
2. That on 18th of December, 1995 the said Ramesh Dalal had come to our village at about 2.30 p.m. for addressing a meeting held in our village.
3. That at about 4.00 p.m. he addressed the meeting and after that also he remained in our village uptil 6.00 p.m.
4. That during the said period, i.e. from 2.30 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. the said Ramesh Dalal had not gone elsewhere, and remained in the meeting during the said period.
5. Anybody claiming that Ramesh Dalal had gone to Sarita Vihar on 18.12.1995 at about 3 p.m. is just telling lies for motivations.

We are prepared to appear as a witness before the Commission if Commission wants.

Dt.: 29/12/95

Yours faithfully,

1 सुरत सिह *S/o* श्री जागे राम
2 जयपाल *S/o* श्री सुर्जन
3 राजेन्द्र *S/o* श्री सुरत सिंह
4 बिजेन्द्र *S/o* श्री राजपाल
5 दयाकिशन *S/o* श्री टेकराम
6 रमेश *S/o* श्री उमेद सिंह
7 सुरेन्द्र *S/o* श्री मुख्त्यार सिंह
8 दलबीर *S/o* श्री राजेन्द्र सिंह
9 बलबीर *S/o* श्री सोहन
10 धर्मबीर *S/o* श्री दुलीचंद
11 धर्मबीर *S/o* श्री भीम सिह
12 शमशेर सिंह *S/o* श्री बलबीर सिंह
13 (ओम प्रकाश) कुकु पहलवान *S/o* श्री चरण सिह
14 बलजीत *S/o* श्री सुरत सिह
15 ज्ञानेन्दर *S/o* श्री अमर सिंह
16 राजबीर *S/o* श्री जयसिंह
17 जीत सिह *S/o* श्री निहाल सिंह
18 नरेन्द्र *S/o* श्री रामफल
19 वेदपाल *S/o* श्री धन्न सिंह
20 चन्दर *S/o* श्री सुरत सिंह
21 साहब सिंह *S/o* श्री अमेराम
22 काटु *S/o* श्री दलीप सिंह
23 जोगिन्दर *S/o* श्री चन्दर सिंह
24 रमेश *S/o* श्री हरद्वारी लाल
25 भीम सिंह *S/o* श्री भरत सिंह
26 हैमा० प्रताप सिंह *S/o* श्री हरद्वारी लाल
27 रवीन्द्र *S/o* श्री महेन्द्र
28 सुरेश *S/o* श्री धर्मपाल
29 अर्जुन *S/o* श्री मोहकम
30 सुर्जन *S/o* श्री मोहकम
31 बिजेन्द्र *S/o* श्री छोटूराम
32 सत्यप्रिय *S/o* श्री धर्म सिह
33 नफे सिंह *S/o* श्री दरियाव सिंह
34 दशबीर *S/o* श्री उमेद सिंह
35 माचन्द्र *S/o* श्री महीपत
36 जयबीर *S/o* श्री धर्म सिह
37 रामनिवास *S/o* श्री छोटूराम
38 ईश्वर *S/o* श्री धज्जन
39 शमशेर *S/o* श्री उमेद सिंह
40 देवेन्द्र *S/o* श्री ईश्वर
41 लखीराम *S/o* श्री भरतू
42 बलबीर *S/o* श्री सरुपा
43 मुन्शीराम *S/o* श्री अमृत
44 राजबीर *S/o* श्री तारा चन्द
45 सुभाष *S/o* श्री मुन्शी राम
46 राजेश *S/o* श्री ताराचन्द
47 आजाद *S/o* श्री चन्द
48 सुखराम *S/o* श्री खीमचन्द
49 सुखलाल *S/o* श्री धज्जा
50 प्रभु *S/o* श्री जीतु राम
51 हुश्यार सिंह *S/o* श्री केहर सिंह
52 मुन्शी *S/o* श्री राजेराम

DOCUMENT 16

Compl Case
P.S. Anand Vihar
J-K-Jaiy(?)
Vs
Ramesh Dalal
U/S 420/467/468/471/506 IPC

Ashwani Kumar Sarpal
Metropolitan Magistrate
New Court Complex
Shahdara, Delhi

WARRANT OF ARREST

(Section 75 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)
Schedule V, Form II)

DISTRICT

DOH 1-2-96

IN THE COURT OF .... **MAGISTRATE** .... **CLASS**

TO

SHO P.S. Anand Vihar. (You are directed the NBW to be executed by Spl. officer of P.S. Anand Vihar)

[Name(s) and designation(s) of the person or persons who is or are to execute the warrant]

WHEREAS Ramesh Dalal **of** .... **stands charged with the offence of (state offence)** R/o Vill. Silothi **You are hereby directed to arrest the said** P.O. Morundothi, Jhajhar Distt. Rohtak (Haryana) **and produce him before me.**

Please do not fail herein.

Dated this .... **day of** .... **19**..

Metropolitan Magistrate
New Court Complex, Karkardooma,
Shahdara, Delhi

MAGISTRATE .... **CLASS**

Courts Karkardooma, Delhi

This warrant may be endorsed as follows :—

If the said .... **shall give bail himself in the sum of Rs** .... **with one surety in the sum of Rs** .... **(or two sureties each in the sum of Rs.** ....**) to attend before** .... **on the** .... **day of** .... **19**.. **and to continue so to attend until otherwise directed by me, he may be released.**

Dated this .... **day of** .... **19**..

(SEAL) **MAGISTRATE** **CLASS**

MGIPPN K AS1/90—21-5-91—5,00,000.

Arrest warrant of the another person named Ramesh Dalal

DOCUMENT 17

Finance ministry faces contempt charge

Chandraswami tax case referred to HC

By Rakesh Bhatnagar
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, February 9.

The Union finance ministry is in the dock for not implementing its undertaking three years ago that action against Chandraswami would be taken within a year for evading tax of Rs 1.51 crore.

The Supreme Court referred to the Delhi high court a petition asking the government to implement its undertaking. However, it said it was a fit case where the apex court could also intervene. As the government had given an undertaking to the high court on May 21, 1993, it would be appropriate that the matter be decided by the same court, it said.

On a petition by Ramesh Dalal, the finance ministry had stated before the high court that investigation in tax evasion by Chandraswami was in progress. It said assessment would be made available during 1993 itself. "In case the investigation is not complete during the year, the petitioner can approach either the chief commissioner of income-tax or this court for appropriate action".

Despite several reminders to the authorities concerned, no action had been taken against Chandraswami so far, counsel D K Garg contended before the apex court. This was because Chandraswami is a "fast friend" of Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao, he alleged. Even former Prime Minister Chandrashekhar and former deputy Prime Minister Devi Lal had extended their "full support" to Chandraswami, counsel said.

On the other hand, "if a small person having no political influence commits an offence, he is given the maximum punishment". Mr Garg contended that Chandraswami was also allegedly involved in planting a bomb in a journalist's car and a petition for his arrest in the Bombay bomb blasts case was already pending before the apex court.

Times of India — 10 February, 1996

DOCUMENT 18

BEFORE THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE M.C. JAIN (RETD) COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, VIGYAN BHAWAN, NEW DELHI

In Ref: APPLICATION ON BEHALF OF RAMESH DALAL ONE OF THE WITNESS BEFORE THE HON'BLE COMMISSION TO CALL MR. H.R. BHARDWAJ BEFORE THE COMMISSION FOR RECORDING HIS STATEMENT

The applicant most respectfully showeth as under:

1. That applicant is one of the key witness before the Hon'ble Commission and has deposed the true and correct story in respect of assassination of late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The object of establishing the Hon'ble Commission is to unearth the conspiracy and conspirator involved in the assassination.
2. The applicant considered it necessary to submit before the commission about the serious news item published on 11.1.1996 in Rashtriya Sahara Samachar daily newspaper regarding a taped conversation between Shri H.R. Bhardwaj the Law Minister of Government of India under the Prime Ministership of Shri Narsimha Rao and Shri Rajender Jain, Journalist. The taped conversation was intentionally prepared with the conspiracy to vanish the credibility of this commission in the eyes of law as well as in the opinion of general public. News item is annexed herewith and same may be read as part of this application.
3. That late Shri Rajiv Gandhi was killed and for which plan was prepared by Shri Chandraswami. It has been deposed by the petitioner before the Hon'ble Commission the essence of evidence to the fact, how the plan was prepared by Shri Chandraswami and the same was executed through well known terrorist organisation. When this fact come on record before the Hon'ble Commission, Shri Chandraswami further planned another conspiracy and thereon fabricated the said taped conversation which is mentioned in Rashtriya Sahara news on 11.11.1991'. It may be mentioned at this stage that news item is later on given wide coverage by the press media. Another importance of this application is to release the Hon'ble Commission from the stigma which Shri Chandraswami had tried to publish such fabricated taped

contd.

conversation. The main aim of Shri Chandra Swamy behind such publication is to create an atmosphere against the Hon'ble commission. Not only this, it was also a plan to avoid from coming on light the name of the persons involved in the assassination. He also wanted to save himself.

4. Mr. Rajender Jain was acting on his behalf and his written statement is self-contradictory, he tried to mislead the Hon'ble Commission. The object of moving this application to draw the attention of this Hon'ble Commission about the attempt made by Shri Chandraswami on the basis of publishing false taped conversation. It is necessary to bring truth on record and for that purpose the Hon'ble Commission is hereby requested to issue summon to Shri H.R. Bhardwaj and he may be asked to explain his part in respect of alleged conspiracy published in the paper. As far as the present application is concerned, he (Ramesh Dalal) is already disowned correctness of the news in the press conference.

5. That the applicant wanted all the key witnesses before the Hon'ble Court as valid ground to spell with Shri Chandraswami as plan to prepare the ground for disolution of the commission and also protecting the person involved in the conspiracy in assassination of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The object of the commission will not be completed till Shri H.R. Bhardwaj is called and asked to depose before the Hon'ble Commission.

PRAYER

In the facts and circumstances explained above, it is most respectfully prayed that this Hon'ble Commission may issue summon to Shri H.R. Bhardwaj to come before the Hon'ble Commission and depose. The commission may pass any other order or direction as deemed fit and proper in the facts and circumstances of the present case and in the interest of justice.

RAMESH DALAL
Applicant

Through Counsel

(RAJEEV SHARMA)
Advocate
113, Lawyers Chamber
Supreme Court, New Delhi

Dated: 24 December, 1996

DOCUMENT 19

2 RS

शपथ पत्र

मैं, राजेन्द्र जैन सुपुत्र श्री अम्बा प्रसाद जैन, निवासी 1 बी/ए आर ए सेन्टर, झण्डेवालान, नई दिल्ली -5 शपथ पूर्वक घोषणा करता हूँ जो कि निम्न प्रकार से है ।

1• यह कि दिनांक 29•7•1991 को मेरी गाडी मारुती वैन में जिसका न० डी•एल- 2 सी-1370 में एक शक्तिशाली विस्फोटक बंम मिला था । मेरा पूर्ण संदेह व विश्वास है कि चन्द्रा स्वामी ने यह बम एक गहरी साजिश के तहत मेरी गाड़ी में रखवाया क्योकि मैनें अपने साप्ताहिक हिन्दी अखबार "जनाधार" में एक लेख चन्द्रा स्वामी के संम्बन्ध में छापा था । और उसके बाद चन्द्रा स्वामी ने प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से धमकियाँ दी । इन धमकियों के सम्बन्ध में मैनें अपने द्वितीय अंक दिनांक 26•7•1991 को लिखते हुए कहा था कि मैं अगले अंक में इन धमकियों को खुलासा करूंगा उसके तीन दिन बाद ही दिनांक 29•7•1991 को मेरे कार्यालय के नजदीक पालिका केन्द्र पंचकुइयाँ रोड़ नई दिल्ली की पार्किंग स्थल में रात करीब 10 बजे खड़ी मारुती वैन में यह बंम पुलिस को मिला ।

2• चन्द्रा स्वामी से सम्बन्धित धमकियों के सम्बन्ध में आडियो कैसेट नई दिल्ली की पुलिस आयुक्त श्री मती द्योस के पास है । जो मैनें उन्हें दी थी । लेकिन पुलिस ने आजतक चन्द्रा स्वामी के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नही की ।

शपथ कर्ता

शपथधारी

मैं राजेन्द्र जैन सुपुत्र श्री अम्बा प्रसाद जैन शपथ पूर्वक घोषणा करता हूँ जो यह लिखा है वह ठीक तथा इसमें मेने कुछ नहीं छिपाया हैं ।

ATTESTED

दिनांक 27•3•92•

Oath Commissioner Delhi

शपथ कर्ता

Rajinder Jain's affidavit against CS of 26th March, 1999

DOCUMENT 20

Jain panel witness found dead

Cops' claims fuel suspicion of foul play

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Jan. 8

Rajinder Jain (45), one of the witnesses for the Jain Commission probing the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case, was found dead under mysterious circumstances at his VP-9A LIG flat in North-West district last night.

The police said, an anonymous caller informed the Pitampura police at about 8.55 p.m. yesterday, that smoke was coming out from house number VP-9A and that its inhabitant might have died.

The police claimed that they broke open the door of the house in the presence of witnesses. Inside, they found Rajinder Jain's body near the bathroom. "Mr Jain was probably in an inebriated state when the incident occurred because an unfinished glass of liquor was found near his body. Some cooked food was also found nearby. No family members have so far come to identify him," said Satyendra Garg, DCP, North-West.

On preliminary investigation, it appeared that there was a small fire in the house caused by a short circuit in the room heater which was kept near the bed in the main room. Apart from a plastic bucket, however, nothing else was burnt, according to the police.

The body was sent for postmortem. But though the police claimed that Rajinder apparently died in a fire-related accident, the fire control room was not informed. Moreover, despite a fire in the house, no personnel from the fire brigade came over.

The police could not say how the fire was extinguished but they claimed that they did not suspect foul play. "In case there is foul play, necessary action would be taken," said a district police officer.

"Some documents relating to the Jain Commission were also recovered from Jain's house. A copy of the *Janadhar Bharti* newspaper and some photographs of the victim with some very important persons were also recovered. We cannot, however, say whether the victim was the same Rajinder Jain who had to depose before the Jain Commission," Mr Garg said.

Sources on the other hand, confirmed that the victim had filed a case in the Mandir Marg police station claiming that Babloo Srivastava had planted a bomb in his car in July 1991 near Palika Kendra in Panchkuian Road on the instructions of Chandraswami. He claimed he had evidence to prove Chandraswami's involvement in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

In 1996, when the Special Staff of the New Delhi district police arrested Babloo Srivastava, he reportedly confessed that his gang members had indeed planted the bomb on the instructions of Chandraswami.

Sources also confirmed that Mr Jain had filed an affidavit in the Jain Commission of inquiry claiming that he had some vital information regarding the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case.

Hindustan Times 9th January, 1998

DOCUMENT 21

Post mortem report negates police theory

- Jain panel witness was murdered
- Case handed over to Crime Branch

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Jan. 19

A prime witness in the Jain Commission probing Rajiv Gandhi assassination case, Rajinder Jain, was murdered, contrary to the claims of the North-West district police that he died in an accident.

This has been revealed in the post-mortem conducted on the body, the report of which was handed over to the police yesterday. The case was today handed over to the Crime Branch.

The post-mortem, conducted on Jain's body at the Subzi Mandi mortuary, has confirmed that Jain was first throttled and then his body was set afire.

Rajinder Jain, the owner of a Hindi newspaper, *'Janadhar Bharti'*, was found dead at his LIG flat in Pitampura, North-West Delhi on Jan. 7, this year. Despite the fact that Jain was known to several city policemen and he had also been given police protection at one time, the police took five days to identify his body.

Following the discovery of Jain's body, a senior district police officer had said that since both the entry points in the house were found locked from inside and neighbours had confirmed that they saw smoke coming out from the bathroom of the house, on preliminary investigations, it was "a clear-cut case of accident."

The post-mortem on the body was delayed due to the delay in identification.

The cause of death has been given as asphyxiation and neurogenic shock. The post-mortem report says that there was a head injury on the left side. It also says that there were indications that the victim was throttled.

The police had earlier floated the theory that since Jain was in an inebriated state and he must have caught fire from the room heater while he was sleeping. "When he realised that he had caught fire, he tried to run to the bathroom where he collapsed and died," the officer had said.

The post-mortem report totally negates the police theory. The victim had suffered 100 per cent burn injuries on the upper parts of his body and had "Boxer's posture" suggesting that the arm joints had been crippled due to intense burns.

The doctors reportedly told the police that Jain had been first throttled. When the grip loosened, his head hit the wall and he fell unconscious. A plastic bucket was then kept over his head and the upper part of his body was set afire.

The doctors who conducted the post-mortem have reportedly told the police that the viscera has been sent to the Central Forensic Sciences Laboratory (CFSL). The report from the CFSL will establish whether or not Jain was in an inebriated state before he died.

Hindustan Times of 20 January, 1998

DOCUMENT 22

JAMBUWANTRAO DHOTE

Nov. 20, 1990

Dear Shri Rajiv Ji,

The direction to the country is normally determined from North India. In fact, the force lies in rural areas around Delhi, in a radius of about 200 Kms. In this territory, most of the farmers belong to Jat community; the same was the fort earlier of Ch. Charan Singh and now of Ch. Devi Lal and Ch. Ajit Singh. This Jat community is now dissatisfied with both the present farm leaders. If it is decided to utilise the Jat community, it can change the political situation in no time.

The navel (centre) of this particular community emanates from District Rohtak. A Rally organised in Rohtak has its effect all around Delhi and on the entire Jat community. The same also creates Election waves in the entire North India.

For ready reference, Programme of the proposed Rally is enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

(Jambuwantrao Dhote)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI,
10, Janpath
New Delhi-110 001.

Encl: As above.

Dhote's letter to RG without his signature

MASSIVE RALLY AT ROHTAK

Time : 2.45 P.M.

P R O G R A M M E

10.00A.M	Departure from Delhi for R-ohtak (79 Kms).
10.40 A.M.	Arrival Nangloi and Reception.
10.55 A.M.	Departure for Tikri Border (7 Kms.)
11.05 A.M.	Arrival at Tikri and Public Reception.
11.20 A.M.	Departure for Bahadurgarh (2 Kms) along with Procession.
11.30 A.M.	Arrival Bahadurgarh and Public Reception.
11.45 A.M.	Departure for Village Jakhodha (7Kms)
11.55 A.M.	Arrival Village Jakhodha and Public Reception.
12.10 -12.30 P.M.	Freshen up and Tea & Snacks.
12.30 P.M.	Departure for Rohad (5 Kms)
12.40 P.M.	Arrival and Public Reception at Rohad.
12.50 P.M.	Departure for Sampla(5 Kms)
1.00 P.M.	Arrival and Public Reception at Sampla.
1.15 P.M.	Departure for Village Ismail (8Kms.)
1.30 P.M.	Arrival Village Ismail and Public Reception.
1.40 P.M.	Departure for Village Kalawnd (6Kms.)
1.50 P.M.	Arrival Kalawad Village and Public Reception.
2.00 P.M.	Departure for Village Kheri (5Km.)
2.10 P.M.	Arrival Village Kheri and Public Reception
2.15 P.M.	Departure for Rohtak City Border(4Kms.)
2.20 P.M.	Arrival Rohtak City Border.
2.40 P.M.	Arrival at Rally Ground
2.40 P.M.	Climb on to Rally Manch.
2.45 P.M.	Reception.
2.45 P.M.	Shri Rajiv Gandhi to Address the Rally.
4.00 P.M.	Departure for Delhi.
5.30 P.M.	Arrival No.10, Janpath, New Delhi.

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Tour Programme of RG enclosed with Dhote's letter

DOCUMENT 23

TOP SECRET
No. 55/HS/T/91

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

On 2nd March, 1991 at about 5 p.m. a check was made in the Canteen housed in AICC Office at 24 Akbar Road. Two persons who were supposed to be visiting that place regularly were checked. It was found that two persons, namely, Head Constable Prem Singh (No. 3/18) CID Narnaul, Distt. Mohindergarh and Shri Raj Singh (No. 4/3) CID Rohtak, Distt. Rohtak, were the people concerned. These 2 persons had been deputed by Shri Amir Singh Rana, Inspector, Nabha House, ostensibly to keep a watch on terrorist activities at 10 Janpath, 24 Akbar Road and the residence of ex-Chief Minister, Haryana, Shri B.D. Gupta. Head Constable Prem Singh was supposed to be in charge of 10, Janpath and 24 Akbar Road, while Raj Singh was supposed to look after the residence of Shri B.D. Gupta. They were coming there daily for the last 10 days and upon interrogation they had produced IB cards of Haryana Police. They were let off after their identity was established. Information has been requested for from the Chief Secretary, Haryana and DG of Police, Haryana, regarding the authority under which this operation was carried out. So far Chief Secretary and DG of Police Haryana, although spoken on telephone, have not yet responded.

For information.

(R.K. Bhargava)
Home Secretary
4.3.1991

DOCUMENT 24

TOP SECRET

CABINET SECRETARIAT
(RESEARCH & ANALYSIS WING)

Subject: Threat to the security of the Prime Minister from the LTTE

2. Recent reports indicate that some hard core LTTE activists are keen to take revenge for the IPKF action in the Northern and Eastern provinces. There were reports that the LTTE was planning to take some dramatic action against targets in India or Indian target abroad such as Indian Missions, etc. Our Mission in Canberra and Singapore had also received some threatening telephone calls including a hoax bomb threat relating to events in Jaffna. Some unidentified Sri Lankan Tamils in Oslo sympathetic to LTTE have also come to notice for trying to establish contact with Sikh there In a recent conversation with the Sikhs they reportedly sought to blame our Prime Minister for recent developments and suggested that the latter should be killed. More recently one Jayadevan, a Sri Lankan Tamil who normally resides in Hong Kong reportedly has come to notice for talking of plans to finish off the Prime Minister and a desire to make efforts to utilise the opportunity provided by the World Tamil Conference in Kuala Lumpur to canvass support for such a plan. In this connection it may be mentioned that one Jayadevan had come to notice for suspected links with drug smuggling activities of some LTTE activists. Photo copy of an article 'Inside the Tamil Tigers drug racket' which appeared in the Sunday Times (August 30, 1987) is enclosed. One Samy working as a clerk in a solicitors firm in Kuala Lumpur (office Telephone No. 2328424 and 232059) is known to be a contact of Jayadevan.

3. Enclosed is a list of the more important LTTE activists who have come to our notice in the different countries. In view of the continuing defiance and animosity displayed by LTTE, pro-LTTE men could constitute a source of threat to our Prime Minister and hence they would require to be watched closely.

DIRECTOR

Cab: Sectt. (R&AW) U.O. NO. 4/1/87-VS-2306 Dated: 23.11.1987

DOCUMENT 25

CABINET SECRETARIAT
(Research & Analysis Wing)

Subject: The forthcoming visit of our Prime Minister to Sri Lanka in November, 1988 — An assessment of likely threats to his security

9. External powers like the USA, Pakistan, China and Israel, which do not always view with a favourable eye India's role in trying to bring peace and stability to Sri Lanka, have strong pockets of influence and support in the local society, administration, political parties and security forces and agencies. All these countries are also believed to have sizeable intelligence units in Colombo. We would, therefore, have to be alert to the possibility that these powers might try to take advantage of the visit of our Prime Minister to instigate incidents which are designed to affect the role of India in Sri Lanka.

10. While we do not have any information regarding the presence and activities in Sri Lanka of extremist elements belonging to various Sikh organisations, the JKLF and the Anand Marg, it would be necessary to be alert to the possibility that these organisations might take advantage of... and try to infiltrate into Sri Lanka during the visit of our Prime Minister to organise acts of violence directed against our Prime Minister. In the past, Dr. Jagjit Singh Chouhan had come to notice for trying to establish contact with the supporters of the Tamil Tigers in the UK. We should, therefore, brief the Sri Lankan Authorities, who would be in charge of the security arrangements for our Prime Minister, on the continuing high level of threat to our Prime Minister from the Sikh extremists and on the increased capabilities of the Sikh extremists in view of their coming into possession of sophisticated weapons like RPG's, RCDs, etc. The Sri Lankan authorities should also be requested to maintain close watch on the entry/exit of extremist elements and Western mercenary elements hired by them into Sri Lanka from abroad before and during the forth-coming SAARC Summit. They are already in possession of our documents on various extremist elements which were given to them before the last visit of our Prime Minister to Sri Lanka in July 1987.

Joint Secretary

Shri Devendra Singh,
Director, SPG, New Delhi

CAB SECTT (R&AW) U.O. NO. 3/5/88-VS Dated: July 21, 1988

DOCUMENT 26

SECRET

B. RAMAN
JOINT SECRETARY

DO NO. 3/16/89-VS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CABINET SECRETARIAT
New Delhi, the: 4/5/89

My Dear Devendra Singh,

3. An organisation called "The National Council of Sikhs in France" (NCSF) owing allegiance to Dr Jagit Singh Chohan, came into existence on November 24, 1982, under the Presidentship of one Sarab Raj Randhawa, with one Chain Singh as the Vice-President. Between 1982 and 1984, Dr Chohan had visited Paris on a number of occasions at the invitation of this organisation. It had also organised demonstrations in protest against Operation Blue Star. Since 1985, this organisation has practically become defunct, following the arrest of its President by the French Police on charges of drug smuggling.

13. The Sikh extremist elements in France have been maintaining a close contact with the extremist organisations in the UK, and particularly with Babbar Khalsa, UK. Talwinder Singh Parmar of the Babbar Khlasa, Canada, had uttered threats against our Prime Minister in an interview, which was published by the "Des Pardesh" of London on March 3, 1989. He stated that Shri Rajiv Gandhi would not live beyond 1990 and he would pay for his crime. Recently, during the Baisakhi procession in Vancouver, Canada, Ajaib Singh Bagri of the Babbar Khalsa, Canada, uttered a similar threat against the Prime Minister. He stated as follows:

"Oh Rajiv, we have killed your mother. Now it is your turn"

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTELLIGENCE

22. The South African intelligence organisation, BOSS, is grown to be quite active in France. It may be recalled that in September 1988, Miss Dulci, the Head of the Office of the ANC in Paris, was assassinated in her office by some black elements. It was reported at that time that the French security authorities strongly suspected that she had been

assassinated by elements hired by the BOSS. (They could not, however, make any progress in the investigation and in arresting the culprits). For the last one year, there have been reports indicating that the South African authorities have been trying to establish contacts with disgruntled elements in the Indian expatriate community in West Europe in order to use them for mounting a campaign against the Government of India and our Prime Minister. They have also been financing a non-governmental organisation, called the South Asia Solidarity Group, based in London, for highlighting the alleged violations of human rights in India. Selected South African nationals of Indian origin have also been posted to South African diplomatic missions in West Europe for establishing contacts with members of the Indian expatriate community. The South African authorities have also been trying to bring the Sikh extremists, the Sri Lankan Tamils, the Dalits and anti-India elements in the Muslim community together. Gurdev Singh Gill, an active member of the Babbar Khalsa, UK, who had been to Pakistan in March 1989 to meet Gurdip Singh Sivia, who coordinates the procurement and smuggling of arms and ammunition into the Punjab on behalf of the Babbar Khalsa, UK, had visited the South African Embassy in London in June 1988 and met a South African diplomat, suspected to be from the BOSS. In September 1988, another South African diplomat posted in the South African Embassy in London, had contacted one of the associates of Dr Jagjit Singh Chohan and sought his assistance in consolidating the activities of the Sikhs, the Tamils, the Dalits and the Muslims. (He had also expressed interest in meeting people who could be persuaded to visit South Africa and write thereafter that the discrimination prevalent against the minorities in India was far worse than the system of apartheid. Keeping the recent activities of the South African authorities in view, it would be necessary to take precautions to prevent any possible incident engineered by them during the stay of our Prime Minister in Paris.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
(B. RAMAN)

Shri Devendra Singh,
Director, SPG,
NEW DELHI

DOCUMENT 27

Recorded cassette on threats by Chandraswamy's men missing

By Girja Shankar Kaura

NEW DELHI, Dec. 11

An audio cassette said to have the recordings of the threats handed out to the Editor of a Hindi weekly Rajinder Jain, allegedly by supporters of Chandraswamy has reportedly been found to be missing.

The audio cassette finds mention in the case record and was said to have been handed over to the senior police officials of the New Delhi district police. It was reportedly handed over to the police when the initial investigations in the planting of the bombs in Rajinder Jain's car began in 1991.

The cassette was found to be missing when the New Delhi district police officials took up investigations again in the case recently following disclosures made by Babloo Srivastava allegedly involved in a number of cases. There was reportedly no trace of the audio cassette and efforts to locate it have proved futile for the New Delhi district police.

Sources revealed that the audio cassette could have proved to be vital evidence in the investigation of the bomb planting case. This is specially so as Babloo Srivastava had revealed that he along with some others had planted the bombs in the car of Rajinder Jain at the behest of Chandraswamy.

The surrendering of the audio cassette to the district police officials came to notice when the officials reopened the case and went through the case record. A sub-inspector, who was the investigating officer of the case in 1991, is said to have mentioned in his report that Mr Rajinder Jain claims to have handed over the audio cassette with the recordings of the threat.

According to reports, Jain claims to have handed over the cassette to the senior police officials of the New Delhi district in 1991. He also claims that he had no idea what was done with the audio cassette after he had handed it over to the officials.

According to the procedure, the audio cassette, since it had become case property, should have been deposited with the 'malkhana' (storeroom) and should have been available at the time of need. But, not only is there no trace of the audio cassette in the 'malkhana', no receipt of any sort seems have been issued at the time when the audio cassette, if any, was deposited with the district police.

One S.I. Dharmapal, who was the investigating officer, in his report clearly mentioned that during investigations of the bomb planting case, Jain claimed that he had the recordings of threats to eliminate him made allegedly by the godman's men.

In its bid to locate the audio cassette, the district police officials have been questioning all the people involved, including Jain. Reports said that Jain had been questioned on at least two or three occasions as regards the whereabouts of the audio cassette, but the police officials had still not got any clues, about it.

Hindustan Times dated 12 December, 1995

DOCUMENT 28

From the Report of Justice Verma Commission page 84
(iii) DEFICIENCIES IN THE SECURITY SYSTEM

16.04: The deficiencies found in the security system and arrangements as prescribed and operated practice are the following.

(1) There was total lack of intelligence back-up to the Tamil Nadu police force by its State Intelligence Branch and District Special Branch required to collect intelligence information from the grassroot level.

(2) There was lack of proper and uniform perception of the available intelligence information by persons to whom it was conveyed as appears from the versions of R.K. Raghavan, IGP and F.C. Sharma. IGP (Intelligence) who state that they understood the latest messages of I.B. to relate to threat to Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu from Sikh extremists present in Tamil Nadu when the messages were not meant to be and were also not understood by others as confined only to the Sikh extremists.

From the Report of Justice Verma Commission page 229

SECRET

Copy No. 48/VS/91 (6)

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU
(Ministry of Home Affairs)
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
New Delhi, the April 1, 1991
MEMORANDUM

INTELLIGENCE PERTAINING VIP SECURITY A DIGEST (I/91)
THREATS

(b) Rajiv Gandhi

Shri Rajiv Gandhi continues to face the most serious threat from Sikh extremists. Gurmeet Singh Gill, a Babbar Khalsa leader of U.K.,

indicated that Sikh terrorists had been deputed from Punjab to New Delhi to make attempt on Rajiv Gandhi. On the other hand, the ULFA was reported to have constituted suicide squads to attack Rajiv Gandhi, Hiteswar Saikia and some other Congress (I) leaders.

(f) Dr. Subramanian Swamy

After the assassination of the Sri Lankan Minister of State for Defence, a report was received indicating that there could be threat to Dr. Subramanian Swamy from the LTTE militants or elements sympathetic to the latter.

Origin of Threat to Subramanian Swamy's Life from LTTE

The threats to the life of Subramanian Swamy from LTTE originated from his own submission as per his design and plan. It is evident from his letter addressed to the Chairman Rajya Sabha dated 4th March, 1991. Swamy wrote it when the surveillance had come to notice and his co-conspirators, CS and Chautala had gone to London to discuss the conspiracy with LTTE and Sikh militants on 1st and 2nd March, 1991.

Subramanian Swamy wrote, "Today at around 3.30 p.m. as I was coming out of the house and into the inner lobby I was accosted by Mr Gopalasamy in presence of a number of other fellow MPs. Mr Gopalasamy asked me whether I knew who had killed the Sri Lankan Minister Mr. Vijeratne recently in a car bomb explosion. Before I could answer he said again within the hearing of a number of MPs that, "We killed him your turn is next. The date for your assassination has been fixed." I thought he was perhaps joking and thus asked him whether he was serious. He said again in the presence of a number of MPs that he was indeed very serious and that my death was certain and that he and his friend would see to it that it takes place on the appointed date."

Hence IB lost its credibility when they analysed threat to Swamy's life from LTTE instead of RG. IGP (Intelligence) F.C. Shrama deposed before the Verma Commission that RG was facing danger from sikh militants. So it seams the IB report is full of conspiracy.

DOCUMENT 29

TOP SECRET & PERSONAL

N.V. Vathsan,
Joint Director

No. 16-E/SZX/90-441
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU; SOUTH ZONE,
MHA, Government of India,
MADRAS

Dated the JULY 19, 1990

Dear Shri Saranyan,

Our Fax monitoring of the Madras LTTE unit has been yielding a number of messages encripted in a complicated type of code using English alphabets and Arabic numerals for Tamil alphabet. For quite some time we have been working on a project to break this code with the help of computer, studying the pattern of repetition. To a large extent, we have succeeded in breaking one of the many codes used by LTTE. I use the expression "to a large extent" because we have not succeeded in preparing the complete key but with the help of what we have succeeded in making, some six/seven coded messages have yielded their secrets.

2. On July 12, 1990, a coded message was sent from K. Padmanathan (KP) of Kualalampur, the person in charge of raising funds abroad and also in charge of their havala transactions, to Prabhakaran as follows:

> "My friend in America who was in touch with a CIA official, contacted the latter and requested him to help us. He (CIA) expresses that he knew what was required by us (LTTE). It should be done in a way that would be helpful to both of them; and that the matter could be finalised only after meeting and discussing with KP. He (CIA), when asked, was not prepared to meet Kittu. It is possible that he (CIA) might meet me (KP) in some country other than America. Please let me know your reply. According to my friend, they (CIA) are very much interested in Trincomalee."

From the context it would appear that the LTTE are in touch with the CIA for getting anti-aircraft guns. They are likely to exploit the American interest in Tricomalee as quid pro quo.

Yours sincerely,

(N.V. Vathsan)

Shri K. Saranyan,
Additional Director (I)
IB, New Delhi

DOCUMENT 30

TOP SECRET & PERSONAL

N.V. Vathsan,
Joint Director

No. 16-E/SZX/90-406
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU; SOUTH ZONE,
MHA, Government of India,
MADRAS

Dated the Aug. 3, 1990

Dear Shri Saranyan,

You may recall that K. Padmanathan @ 'K.P.' of LTTE stationed at Kuala Lumpur had sent a coded message to Prabhakaran (vide my D.O. letter of even number dated July 19, 1990) about a 'friend' in America having links with the C.I.A. and an offer made by an official of this Agency to meet 'K.P.' in a country other than America to discuss a mutually beneficial scheme.

2. 'K.P.' is learnt to be camping in Cyprus presently. While there is no indication whether he had met the C.I.A. official there, 'K.P.' had informed Prabhakaran (through another coded message) that he had met the 'old Friend' in Cyprus and that 'the work has begun'. In this connection, 'K.P.' had asked for immediate supply of funds.

3. In a related development, 'K.P.' had directed the Madras based LTTE elements to enlist the services of Captain Bala and Chief Engineer Yogalingam (living in Madras) and send them to him.

4. The demand for funds and marine personnel like Captain and Chief Engineer gives an impression that 'K.P.' is purchasing a sea-going vessel to tranship the weapons to 'land'.

Yours sincerely,

(N.V. Vathsan)

Shri K. Saranyan,
Additional Director (I)
I.B., New Delhi

DOCUMENT 31

TOP SECRET/PERSONAL

N.V. Vathsan,
Joint Director

16-E/SZX/90-555
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU; SOUTH ZONE,
MHA, Government of India,
MADRAS

Dated the Sept. 4, 1990

Dear Shri Saranyan,

You may recall that we succeeded in breaking complicated code (T-1) used by the LTTE sometime ago and that we were in position to decipher some of the Important communications between the LTTE Chief Prabhakaran and K. Padmanathan...'KP' — the underworld operative dealing in Hawala transactions and weaponry. On such communication (vide my D.O. letter of even number dated July 19) revealed KP's inclination to seek the help of the C.I.A. to acquire weapons to meet the onslaught of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces and, in return, cater to the American's interests in Trincomallee.

2. Hence, we paid more attention to the communications between Prabhakaran and 'KP'. There were 'two' more codes used in the messages exchanged between the two, namely T-2 and T-3. A sustained effort was made to break these codes and we have once again met with success. We have found the keys to the Tamil letters used in the T-3 messages which form the major part of every communication. While some of the contents of the deciphered messages are already know to us, the remaining portions offer interesting in-sight into the state of affairs of the LTTE in 'land' and its requirements.

3. In a communication addressed to 'KP' on Sept. 1, Prabhakaran has enquired from the former whether supplies as per a list (sent already) could be delivered to LTTE immediately using the one million US dollars...with 'KP'. Prabhakaran has virtually sounded the "SOS" and has indicated that LTTE would not be in a position to sustain for long without these supplies.

4. Some of the messages sent by Prahabkaran to 'KP' in mid-August reveal that the LTTE was looking for 'Surface to Air Missiles (SAM) and its accessories. Orders for purchase of 6 SAMs, a 'Candle'..., 30 batteries used in SAMs and two pairs of spectacles worn (by soldiers) at the time of firing them have been placed with 'KP'. Interestingly, Prabhakaran had directed 'KP' to send some 'persons' who could handle the weapon system.

5. In a subsequent message in August '90, Prabhakaran had expressed suspicion whether it would be safe for 'KP' to send these 'persons' by himself ('KP') and had suggested that 'they' could be met by some other cadres and taken to 'land'.

Yours sincerely,

(N.V. Vathsan)

Shri K. Saranyan,
Additional Director (I)
I.B., New Delhi

DOCUMENT 32

TOP SECRET

N.V. Vathsan,
Joint Director

16-E/SZX/90-554
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU; SOUTH ZONE,
MHA, Government of India,
MADRAS

Dated the 11 September 1990

Dear Shri Saranyan,

In a coded communication dated September 10 to the LTTE chief Prabhakaran, K. Padmanathan...KP now camping in Cyprus had indicated that the latter would be in a position to spare a sum of one million US dollars (for buying arms and ammunition), provided Prabhakaran would repay the amount within two months. 'KP' had also disclosed that his 'friend' was willing to supply the 'goods' as per the list sent by Prabhakaran. 'KP' had expressed hopes that he could meet the LTTE-supremo soon with the 'goods'.

2. Another coded message originated by Prabhakaran was passed on to 'KP' the same night (Sept 10) in which emphasis had 'been laid on purchase of different types of optical accessories like 'Celestron' telescope, snipe sighter, parallax adjusting...scopes, etc.

Yours sincerely,

(N.V. Vathsan)

Shri K. Saranyan,
Additional Director (I)
I.B., New Delhi

DOCUMENT 33

COMPUTER/FAX MESSAGE No.,QL/91 DATED: 24-4-91 TTT/CRASH

FROM : JD/SZ (N.V.VATHSAN)

TO : D.I.B

INFO : AXI (SHRI K.SARANYAN)

JD/V (SHRI E.S.L.NARASIMHAN)

====================================

PROJECT T.T

ACCORDING TO A NEW CONTACT IN LTTE, PRABHAKARAN IS PLANNING TO SEND AN EMISSARY TO INDIA TO LOBBY FOR SUPPORT AMONG VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES, NOTABLY THE CONGRESS-I. KASI ANANDAN, WHO IS ALREADY IN MADRAS, IS CONSIDERED TO BE UNFIT TO PLAY THE ROLE IN THE LIGHT OF HIS UTTER FAILURE TO VISIT DELHI AND MEET PRIME MINISTER CHANDRASHEKAR BEFORE A CRACKDOWN WAS LAUNCHED AGAINST THE MILITANT GROUP IN FEB.'91.

(HE IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN Rs.20,000 IN JANUARY '91 AND DIRECTEI TO UNDERTAKE THE TRIP TO MEET THE P.M. TO SOLICIT CENTRE'S SUPPORT FOR LTTE. KASI ANANDAN IS SUSPECTED TO HAVE BEEN PREVAILED UPON BY BIG D.M.K CONTACTS NOT TO MAKE THE TRIP).

IBRAHIM, A LEBANESE CHRISTIAN BASED IN CYPRUS HAS SUPPLIED ARMS AND AMMUNITION TO THE LTTE RECENTLY

ANOTHER LEBANESE CHRISTIAN BY NAME CHARLES OBED HAD ALSO SUPPLIED ARMS AND AMMUNITION TO THE GROUP AND A SUM OF 200,000 U.S. DOLLARS IS DUE TO BE PAID TO HIM IN THIS CONNECTION.

CHARLES OBED HAS GIVEN HIS DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE TO THE SON OF A MAFFIA 'DON' JOSEPH OF BEIRUT. JOSEPH ALSO DEALS IN ARMS AND IS SUSPECTED TO HAVE CONNECTIONS WITH THE C.I.A.

K.PADMANATHAN @ 'KP' IS THE LTTE REPRESENTATIVE WHO IS IN TOUCH WITH THESE ARMS DEALERS AND EFFECTS THE PURCHASES.

LTTE SHIP 'YELICIA' IS SCHEDULED TO TOUCH TUTICORIN HARBOUR ON APRIL 29. THE OTHER VESSEL BELONGING TO THE GROUP, SUN BIRD', IS PRESENTLY IN A MALAYSIAN PORT, KUCHING.

---EOM---

SIB report 24-4-91 (C-65)

DOCUMENT 34

S. S. Surjewala
Member of Parliament
(RAJYA SABHA)

Phone : 3782581
AB-89, SHAHJAHAN ROAD,
NEW DELHI-110011

Date : 1.1.1998

HAPPY NEW YEAR

Respected Sonia Ji,

This letter of request to you relates to Shri Ramesh Dalal, who is the party before The Jain Commission and has played an active role by assisting the Commission for its aims and purpose.

Shri Ramesh Dalal is the leader of Nation-wide Transporters and belongs to Village Jokhodha of Sonipat Parliamentary constituency in Harayana. Shri Dalal is the only effective and winning candidate from this Lok Sabha seat. There are also many villages of 'Dalal Khap' which fall under the Sonipat constituency.

Presently, Mr. Dalal is not in Congress party and his induction into Congress can be in favour of our Party.

I would request you to kindly consider my above request for Mr. Dalal's entry into Congress and allotting a ticket for Sonipat Parliamentary Constituency.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

S.S. Surejewala

Smt. Sonia Gandhi
10, Janpath
New Delhi

DOCUMENT 35

Birender Singh
M L A (Haryana)

RES : B-105, Som Vihar Apartments
R. K. Puram, New Delhi-110 022
Tel 6183520, 6162715

31. 12 97

Respected Sonia ji,

I am writing this letter to you regarding Mr Ramesh Dalal who is president of Rashtriya Parivahan Panchayat and enjoys effective and good influence among transport workers in Delhi & Haryana

Mr Ramesh Dalal belongs to Haryana ; his native village Jakhoda falls in Sonepat Parliamentary Constituency. He wields good influence in this Constituency and can be effective and good candidate for this Parliamentary seat

Presently he is not in Congress Party and his induction into Congress can be only with your consent and recommendation.

Mr Ramesh Dalal has also played an important role after the assassination of our beloved leader Late Shri Rajiv ji

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours
Birender Singh
(BIRENDER SINGH)

Smt Sonia Gandhi ji,
10 Janpath New Delhi

Letter of Birender Singh former President HPCC to Sonia Gandhi

DOCUMENT 36

सत्यमेव जयते

DEEP CHAND BANDHU
M.L.A., DELHI
MEMBER - ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CHIEF WHIP, CONGRESS LEGISLATURE PARTY
Ex-PRESIDENT
DELHI PRADESH CONGRESS COMMITTEE

<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u>

Dated: 13.01.98

Respected Sonia Ji,

I am requesting you regarding your very a loyal and trusted man Sh. Ramesh Dalal who has played an important role in the Jain Commission for assisting its term of peferences.

Sh. Ramesh Dalal is not only a winning candidate from Sonipat Parliamentory seat but also can create a wave in favour of other Congress candidates in Haryana and Delhi. He has led many agitation of farmers, labours and transporters. The Congress party in Delhi can win all the seven seats with the support of his followers if he contest on Congress symbol from Sonipat Parliamentary Consituency in Haryana. His sirname 'Dalal' is very respected in North Indian JAT belt. The Dalal community in Jat is always a deciding factor in North Indian Jat belt for leading other Jat community.

The native village Jakhodha is a part of Sonipat Constituency. He is very highly educated and a young leader of 34 years age. We should also give tickets to youth for attracting them in favour of Congress.

In view of the above, I request you to allot him a ticket from Sonipat seat in the interest of Congress party performance in election in Delhi, Haryana and other parts.

With respect

Yours sincerely

(Deep Chand Bandhu)

Smt. Sonia Gandhi,
10, Janpath, New Delhi.

13 1 98

Office : Room No. 31, Old Secretariate, Delhi-110054, Ph: 233506
Residence: A-144, Ashok Vihar, Phase-I, Delhi-110052, Ph : 7219000, 7246894

DOCUMENT 37

H.K.L. BHAGAT
(Former Union Minister)

C-1/26, Pandara Park
New Delhi - 110 003
Ph 3385689

PERSONNEL

13th Jan.,1998

Respected Soniaji,

Shri Ramesh Dalal is a well known pro-Nehru Gandhi family, Jat Leader who is very dynamic youth Leader having influence in All India Transporters. He is also the National President of Rashtriya Parivahan Panchayat. He is M.A. in Political Science and is very popular in Haryana and Delhi. Sh.Dalal is only winning candidates from Sonepat Parliamentary Constitutency in Haryana. He belongs to Village Jakhodha in Sonepat seat and he is very beloved by the farmers. Sh.Dharam Pal Malik had lost Lok Sabha seat in last election. Sh.Malik and other candidates except Ramesh Dalal can not win from this seat. His ticket for Parliament has already been recommended by Sh.Birender Singh and Sh.S.S. Surjewala both Ex-President of HPCC(I).

I request you to take personal interest in alloting the ticket for Sonepat seat in Haryana to Sh.Ramesh Dalal who is a key witness of the Jain Commission. His selection as Congress candidates can help Congress to get a many seats in Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(H.K.L. Bhagat)

Smt. Sonia Gandhiji
10, Janpath
New Delhi.

DOCUMENT 38

Phones 743666
741426

हरियाणा प्रदेश कॉंग्रेस (आई) कमेटी

HARYANA PRADESH CONGRESS (I) COMMITTEE

140, Sector 9-B, CHANDIGARH

BHUPINDER SINGH HOODA, Ex M P
PRESIDENT

16.8.1999

Respected Azad Sahib,

I write this to suggest that our Party should nominate a jat candidate from Outer Delhi constituency. Sh.Bharat Singh and Sh. Sajjan Kumar who belong to Jat community have represented this constituency.

I may also mention that Outer Delhi is very closely linked with Sonepat, Rohtak and Faridabad constituencies of Haryana. In all these constituencies and from Outer Delhi the BJP has fielded candidates from Jat community whereas Congress has put up non-Jat candidates except me in Rohtak. It is, therefore, felt that Outer Delhi constituency may go a Jat candidate.

I suggest that Sh. Sajjan Kumar, who has represented this constituency twice and who is a formidable candidate may be nominated by the Party.

In case Sh. Sajjan Kumar is denied Party nomination due to any reason, then name of Sh.Ramesh Dalal, who is an effective aspirant for Party candidature may be considered as his candidature may benefit the Party in the adjoining constituencies of Haryana.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,

Bhupinder Singh

(BHUPINDER SINGH HOODA)

Sh.Ghulam Nabi Azad,MP
General Secretary,
All India Congress Committee,
New Delhi.

Resi 20 Willingdon Crescent New Delhi Tele 3792260 3011715 3016798

DOCUMENT 39

OSCAR FERNANDES
Member of Parliament
General Secretary AICC

Phone: 3016168 (O)
3738741 (R)

OF) GEN/98/786

28th August, 1998

Dear Shri L K Advani ji,

I am writing to you in connection with the improper security for Shri Ramesh Dalal. who is the only witness of the Jain Commission and probed the conspiracy behind Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assasination and for which he and his family is being targeted Following incidents took place to create loss to the life of Shri Ramesh Dalal, his family and damaging the property. To this affect application dated 3rd August 1998 was faxed to you

- House was set on fire on 17th August 1998.
- People are moving under suspicion circumstances infront of the house and its jurisdiction.
- Receiving phone calls from unknown stating that the son of Shri Ramesh Dalal would be kidnapped.

I request your intervention to instruct concerned authority urgently to provide him more security and also deploy suitable guards in the house to protect his family, children and the property Application dated 27th August 1998 from Shri Ramesh Dalal to you is forwarded herewith for your perusal and for necessary action at the earlirest

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,

(OSCAR FERNANDES)

Shri L.K Advani
Hon'ble Union Home Minister
Govt of India
New Delhi

RESI B-202, M S FLATS, BABA KHARAK SINGH MARG, NEW DELHI-110001
FAX 3794078
E-MAIL oscar@parlis nic in

DOCUMENT 40

Dy. No. Ack = M (P&NG)/VIP/98

वाझप्पाड़ि के. राममूर्ति
Vazhappady K. RAMAMURTHY

मंत्री
पेट्रोलियम एवं प्राकृतिक गैस
भारत
नई दिल्ली-110001
MINISTER OF
PETROLEUM & NATURAL GAS
INDIA
NEW DELHI-110001

June 10, 1998.

Dear Shri Dalal,

Thank you very much for your letter dated 25th April, 1998 regarding tabling of the Jain Commission final report on the floor of the Parliament in the Budget Session of Parliament.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

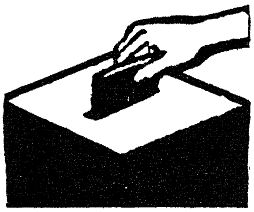
K. Ramamurthy

(K. RAMAMURTHY)

Shri Ramesh Dalal,
Convenor,
All India Jain Commission
Action Committee,
47, Prem Nagar, Najafgarh,
NEW DELHI - 110 043.

DOCUMENT 41

विधानसभा चुनाव



जनसत्ता, १७ अक्तूबर, १९९८ ३

भाजपा को पटकनी देने का फतवा

किसानों की महापंचायत ने इसकी मंजूरी दी

नई दिल्ली, १६ अक्तूबर (जनसत्ता)। भाजपा को आगामी विधानसभा चुनावों में पटकनी देने का फतवा आज सर्व धर्म-सर्व जाति सम्मेलन में जारी किया गया। दिल्ली और इससे सटे राजस्थान, हरियाणा और मध्य प्रदेश के किसानों की महापंचायत ने एक स्वर में इसे मंजूरी दी। तालकटोरा स्टेडियम में हुए इस कार्यक्रम में कांग्रेस के नेता अर्जुन सिंह, नटवर सिंह, शीला दीक्षित और एचकेएल भगत समेत कई नेता शामिल हुए। फतवा सम्मेलन के अध्यक्ष रमेश दलाल ने दिया।

इस मौके पर अर्जुन सिंह ने कहा कि पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी की हत्या से जुड़े तमाम पहलुओं की जांच की जाएगी। जैन आयोग की जांच आगे बढ़ेगी और इसके आधार पर कसूरवार पकड़े जाएंगे। उन्होंने कहा कि राजनीतिक झांसे में अपराधियों को बचाने की कोशिश हो सकती है। पर देश की जनता किसी को नहीं बख्शेगी।

उन्होंने कहा कि जिनके हाथ में आज सत्ता है वे पूरे देश को एक नजर से नहीं देखते। वे जाति-धर्म के आधार पर खुद को मजबूत कर देश को कमजोर करने की मंशा रखते हैं। उन्होंने सभी धर्मनिरपेक्ष ताकतों से एकजुट होने की अपील की। श्री सिंह ने कहा कि इंसान को गफलत में रखने वालों को देश की अगुआई करने का हक नहीं है। उनके मुताबिक कांग्रेस एकता-अखंडता और गंगा-जमना संस्कृति की हिफाजत हर हाल में करेगी।

कार्यक्रम में अर्जुन सिंह, नटवर सिंह, एचकेएल भगत, चौधरी वीरेंद्र सिंह और रमेश दलाल को पगड़ी भेंट की गई। इस मौके पर सिख समुदाय की ओर से अर्जुन सिंह को महंत सेवा दास ने तलवार भेंट की।

कार्यक्रम में प्रदेश कांग्रेस अ[illegible] शीला दीक्षित ने कहा कि आगामी विधानसभा के सभी सीटों पर अच्छे उम्मीदवारों को टिकट दिया जाएगा। उनके मुताबिक इस बार महिलाओं, नौजवानों और ग्रामीण अंचलों को सही नेतृत्व दिया जाएगा। श्रीमती दीक्षित के मुताबिक कांग्रेस इस चुनाव में ऐसी छवि के साथ उतरेगी, जो जनता चाहती है।

इस मौके पर श्रीमति दीक्षित ने घोषणा की कि सत्ता में आते ही कांग्रेस शहरी और ग्रामीण इलाके में होने वाले भेदभाव को खत्म करेगी। उनके मुताबिक विभिन्न प्रकार के करों, शिक्षा, सड़क, बिजली, पानी और सुरक्षा के मामले में शहरी और ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में कोई भेदभाव नहीं बरता जाएगा। उन्होंने कहा कि भाजपा सरकार ने दिल्ली की समस्या को और भी जटिल कर दिया है। उसका लक्ष्य केवल सत्ता पाना ही है।

कार्यक्रम में किसानों में सबसे अधिक उत्सुकता कुंअर नटवर सिंह को सुनने की थी। नटवर सिंह ने कहा कि भाजपा पूंजीपति और सामंतियों की पार्टी है। उन्होंने कार्यक्रम में नारा दिया, 'अंतिम बारी- अटल बिहारी।'

भाजापा की असफलता की चर्चा करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि विदेशी और घरेलू मोर्चे पर सरकार पूरी तरह नाकाम रही है। पोकरण विस्फोट को उन्होंने कांग्रेस की उपलब्धि बताया। उनके मुताबिक सात महीने में भारत ने अपने सभी दोस्तों का विश्वास खोया है। परमाणु- प्रकरण में प्रधानमंत्री क्लिंटन के नाम लिखी चिट्ठी की चर्चा करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि चीन और पाकिस्तान से असुरक्षा की बात कह कर उन्होंने बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों को भारत में निवेश करने से डरा दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि जिस कश्मीर का मसला कभी सुरक्षा परिषद में नहीं उठा वह वाजपेयी के शासन में उठ गया।

The news of *Jansatta* about the Mahapanchayat led by Ramesh Dalal in favour of Congress

DOCUMENT 42

FORM NO. 45
Bond and Bail Bond for Attendance before Office Incharge of Police Station or Court (Section 436, 437, 438 (3) and 441)

In the Court of **Smt. Sunita Gupta ACMM**
Police Station: **Enforcement Directorate**
Under Section: **8 and 9 of FERA, 73**

Next date of Hearing
Sent to Jail on

F.I.R. No.: **23/1**

Bail Bond

I **Chandra Swamy @ Nemichand** Son of Shri **Late D.C. Gandhi** Residence **C-18, 19 Qutab Institutional Area, New Delhi** having been arrested or detained without warrant by the Officer Incharge of .... Police Station for having been brought before his Hon'ble Court charged with the offence of **8 and 9 FERA**, 73 and required to give surety for my attendance before such Officer or Court on condition that I shall attend such officer or Court on every day on which any Investigation or trial is held with regard to such charge and in case of my making default here in myself to forfeit to Government the sum of Rs. **10,00,000/- (Rs. Ten Lakh Only)**

I shall join investigation and appear on 1st working day of each month and on the 1st working day of the latter half and I shall not travel outside the NCT without prior permission of the Court.

Delhi
Dated

Signature
Sd.
(Chandra Swamy)

I **Mohinder Singh Yadav** Son of Shri **Tej Ram** Residence of **V.P.O. Bhagdola, New Delhi** hereby declare myself for the above said Shri **Chandra Swamy @ Nemichand** that he shall attend the Officer-in-charge of **FERA, Lok Nayak** Police Station or the Court of **Smt. Sunita Gupta Ld. ACMM** every day on which any investigation in the charge is made or any trial on such charge is held that he shall be and re-appear before such officer or court for the purpose of such investigation to answer the charge against him (as the case may be) and in the case or his making default herein I have bind myself to forefeit to Govt. the sum of **Rs. 10,00,000/- (Rs Ten Lakh Only)**

Dated this **13th** Day of **March** **1997**

Signature
Sd.
(Mohinder Yadav)

Witness
1. ....
2. ....

SARASWATA ... ACC No. ... VETAPALEM

contd.

AFFIDAVIT

I **Mohinder Singh Yadav** S/o **Sh. Tej Ram Yadav** R/o **V.P.O. Bhagdola, New Delhi,** do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:

1. That I am the owner and in possession of a free hold plot of land measuring 2 Bhigha, 2 Biswas 143, 147/2, situated within the revenue estate of village Bhagdola, Delhi and its market value is Rs. 15,00,000/- (Rupees fifteen lakh only).
2. That I am also regd. owner of Gypsy No. DL3CE-0694 and its market value is also more than Rs. 2 lakh.
3. That I am also holder of FDR for Rs. 2 lakh bearing No. 2311111 issued by State Bank of Patiala, Palam Ext., New Delhi (To be matured on 19-7-1997.
4. That my Ration Card No. is 371454.
5. That my Election Card (I) No. is DL/03/031/312139.
6. That I have household articles, ornaments, T.V., fridge, etc. worth more than Rs. one lakh.
7. That I know the accused since my childhood as he also hails from my native village.
8. That I shall abide by the condition imposed on the accused in the case.

Sd.
(Mohinder Singh Yadav)
Deponent

Verification:
Verified at New Delhi on 13-5-1997 that whatever stated above is true and correct and nothing has been concealed therefrom.

Sd.
(Mohinder Singh Yadav)
Deponent

DOCUMENT 43

RAMESH DALAL
CONGRESS CANDIDATE

ASSEMBLY NO. 37
BAHADURGARH (HARYANA)

FOR URGENT ATTENTION OF

SHRI M.S. GILL (FAX NO. 3355631)
CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER
NIRVACHAN SADAN, NEW DELHI

SUBJECT: PRE-POLL LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IN BAHADURGARH CONSTITUENCY

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you on a matter which needs your urgent attention.

Known killers and criminal elements supporting O.P. Chautala, Chandraswamy, Subramaniam Swamy and Nafe Singh, the Indian National Lok Dal candidate are rampantly and violently campaigning in this constituency. They have been threatening and intimidating me and my party-workers, local leaders and supporters with death threats. The local SHO and police personnel are also supporting them/involved with them.

In Bahadurgarh city there are 74 polling booth. It is strongly recommended that each booth should have 10 personnel of CRPF for guarding against intimidation/terrorising of voters and booth-capturing. I will convey to you the number of booths in the villages by tomorrow, 19 February, 2000.

In the interest of democracy, peace and progress I request you to take urgent action in this matter.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

RAMESH DALAL

18 February 2000

Copy to: DIRECTOR,
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU
(FAX NO. 3010888)

DOCUMENT 44

Ph-3016168

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

24 AKBAR ROAD
NEW DELHI

OSCAR FERNANDES, MP
General Secretary

PG-9/

22nd February, 2000

The Chief Election Commissioner
Election Commission of India
Nirvachan Sadan
New Delhi.

Reg: 37 Bahadurgarh Assembly Constituency in Haryana.

Sir,

Our party nominee Shri Ramesh Dalal for 37 Bahadurgarh constituency has complained that SHO City Shri Ram Chander alongwith armed intruders with full police protection have captured Booth No. 8, 130 and 132 in favour of INLD candidate Shri Nafe Singh. Shri Dalal has demanded to repoll in these three booths.

We request you to kindly an immediate action be taken in the matter.

Copy of the complaint is enclosed.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(OSCAR FERNANDES)

DOCUMENT 45

NATIONAL TRANSPORT PUNCHAYAT

RAMESH DALAL
President

OFFICE
47, Prem Nagar, Najafgarh,
New Delhi-110043
Ph. : 5012061, 9811083087

Date : 7-1-2000

RESPECTED MRS. SONIA GANDHI JI.

Please refer to my personal meeting with you before the Lok Sabha election in which you had agreed to call me again for discussion. Hence I am seeking an appointment to meet you personally.

I have evidence that Chandra Swamy planned to finish you either politically or physically. He visited Punjab before your visit there and met various patron of terrorist. During his visit he declared that there will be no political future for you. He indicated his plan for installing Sh. Chander Babu Naidu on the chair of the Prime Minister with the support of Congress after splitting it. He also pressed the head priest of Golden Temple Gaini Puran Singh an old associate of Sh. Bhinderwala to prevent your entry into AKAL TAKHAT. He also advocated to release all terrorist of Punjab who are in jail under TADA.

Many of your top leaders are in touch with the Godman for damaging you. I am very much upset and surprised to know that you are meeting and believing the associates of Chandraswamy. He will kill me in revenge of my deposition before the Jain Commission. Already, he suceeded to destroy my political and business career. Even you did not consider me as a candidate for assembly and parliamentary election due to the reason best known to you. I have been isolated and destroyed by this Godman by various ways. Even though my and my family's days are numbered, I am willing to save the royal Nehru Gandhi family by informing you in advance regarding danger to the lives of you and your family.

I still strongly recommend you to take appropriate steps in this matter. Many times, I have sent you material in view of the above. But either the material did not reach or got hijacked before reaching you, therefore I am also sending one copy through Sh. Arjun Singh who is alone among senior congress leaders who fought against the real killers of Sh. Rajiv Gandhi. I reiterate again that Sh. Chandra Swamy has become very active against the Nehru Gandhi family as he had been before the gruesome killing of our leader. I am also enclosing press cuttings of Punjabi in support of it.

I am merely fulfilling my responsibility towards the nation as well as to you by warning you in advance. But now it is upon you to believe it or not. But I seek an appointment to discuss these matters in detail.

With best wishes for New Year.

Your Sincerely

(RAMESH DALAL)

MRS. SONIA GANDHI
10, Janpath, New Delhi.

ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਨੀਆ 'ਚ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰਨ ਦੀ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਡੀ ਲੋੜ : ਚੰਦਰਾ ਸਵਾਮੀ

ਜਗਰਾਓਂ, 28 ਨਵੰਬਰ (ਭੰਡਾਰੀ)—ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਤੀ ਸੋਨੀਆ ਗਾਂਧੀ ਦਾ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ਪਰੰਤੂ 2002 ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦੇ ਆਕਾਸ਼ 'ਤੇ ਨਵੀਂ ਲੀਡਰਸ਼ਿਪ ਅਤੇ ਨਵੇਂ ਗਠਜੋੜ ਉਭਰਨ ਦੀ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਭਵਿੱਖਬਾਣੀ ਬਹੁ-ਚਰਚਿਤ ਤਾਂਤਰਿਕ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਚੰਦਰਾ ਸਵਾਮੀ, ਜਿਹੜਾ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਕਿੰਗ ਮੇਕਰ ਵਜੋਂ ਜਾਣਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ, ਨੇ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਵਿਖੇ ਪੱਤਰਕਾਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਗੱਲਬਾਤ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਕੀਤੀ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਚੰਦਰਾਸਵਾਮੀ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਕਲ ਲੁਧਿਆਣਾ ਤੋਂ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਪੁੱਜੇ ਸਨ, ਨੇ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦੇ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਬਾਰੇ ਬੋਲਦਿਆਂ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਅਸਥਿਰਤਾ ਦੇ ਦੌਰ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਜਲਦੀ ਬਾਹਰ ਆਵੇਗੀ ਅਤੇ 2005 ਤੋਂ 2015 ਤਕ ਦਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦਾ ਸੁਨਹਿਰੀ ਸਮਾਂ ਮੰਨਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਭਾਰਤ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਖੇਤਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਪੂਰੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਨੂੰ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ। ਨਹਿਰੂ ਖਾਨਦਾਨ ਦੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਬਾਰੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਿਯੰਕਾ ਗਾਂਧੀ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਿਤ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ। ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਪੁਛੇ ਗਏ ਸਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਜਪਾਈ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਆਂਧਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਚੰਦਰ ਬਾਬੂ ਨਾਇਡੂ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦਾ ਧੁਰਾ ਬਣ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦੇ ਵਾਰਿਸ ਨਵੇਂ ਉਭਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਨੌਜਵਾਨ ਆਗੂ ਬਣਨਗੇ। ਅੱਜ ਦੀ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਲਦਲ ਬਣ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਨੌਜਵਾਨ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਆਗੂ ਹੀ ਇਸ ਚਿੱਕੜ ਵਿਚ ਕਮਲ ਦੇ ਫੁੱਲ ਵਾਂਗ ਖਿੜ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ।

ਆਪਣੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਫੇਰੀ ਦੇ ਮੰਤਵ ਬਾਰੇ ਬੋਲਦਿਆਂ ਸਵਾਮੀ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਇਕ ਸਮਾਗਮ ਸਮੇਂ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਮੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੇ ਸੰਤ ਬਾਬਾ ਕੁੰਦਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਦਰਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਪੱਤਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਨ ਵਿਚ ਰਿਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਇਸ ਧਰਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਣਾਮ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਲੰਮੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਤਮੰਨਾ ਸੀ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਤੀ ਲਈ ਉਹ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਪੁੱਜੇ ਹਨ। ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਪੂਰੇ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਵਿਸਵ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਸੂਬਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਥੇ 'ਰਿਸੀ' ਅਤੇ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਸੀ' ਦਾ ਸੁਮੇਲ ਹੈ। 'ਸਰਬਤ ਦੇ ਭਲੇ' ਅਤੇ 'ਘਾਲ ਖਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਥਹੁ ਦੇਹ' ਦੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰਨ ਦੀ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਡੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਵੀ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਦਾ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਹਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਸਕਤੀ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖਤਾ ਹੈ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੁਆਰਥੀ ਸੋਚ ਨੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਦੋ ਦਹਾਕਿਆ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਆਪਣੀਆ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਰੋਟੀਆ ਸੇਕਣ ਲਈ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਤਵਾਦੀ ਸੂਬਾ ਗਰਦਾਨਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਅੱਜ ਉਹੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਉੜੀਸਾ ਦੇ ਲੱਖਾ ਤੂਫ਼ਾਨ ਪੀੜਤਾਂ ਲਈ 'ਰੱਬ' ਬਣ ਕੇ ਬਹੁੜਿਆ ਹੈ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੁੱਖ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਦਸਿਆ ਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾ ਨੂੰ ਫੈਡਰੇਸਨ ਆਗੂ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਗਰੇਵਾਲ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਗੱਲਬਾਤ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਾਲੇ ਵੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਸੈਂਕੜੇ ਨੌਜਵਾਨ ਟਾਡਾ ਅਧੀਨ ਜੇਲਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਬੰਦ ਹਨ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ ਅਪੀਲ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਅਤੀਤ ਦੇ ਗੌਰਵ ਨੂੰ ਬਹਾਲ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੌਜਵਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਰੰਤ ਰਿਹਾਅ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਖੇਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਪਹਿਲ ਕਦਮੀ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਕਿਰਤ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲਾ ਨੌਜਵਾਨ ਹੀ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਡਾ ਦੇਵਤਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਰਕਾਰਾਂ, ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਜਥੇਬੰਦੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜ ਸੇਵੀ ਜਥੇਬੰਦੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਪੀਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਨਵੀਂ ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀ ਲਈ ਰੋਜ਼ਗਾਰ ਦੇ ਮੌਕੇ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰਨ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖਤਾ ਦੇਣ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਖੁਸ਼ਹਾਲੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਸਮੱਸਿਆਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਹੀ ਖਤਮ ਕਰ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ।

ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਚੰਦਰਾਸਵਾਮੀ ਨੇ ਸੰਤ ਬਾਬਾ ਕੁੰਦਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਕਲੇਰਾਂ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਟੂਡੈਂਟਸ ਫੈਡਰੇਸ਼ਨ (ਮਹਿਤਾ) ਦੇ ਜਨਰਲ ਸਕੱਤਰ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਗਰੇਵਾਲ ਨਾਲ ਅਲੱਗ-ਅਲੱਗ ਬੰਦ ਕਮਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਲੰਮੀਆਂ ਮੀਟਿੰਗਾਂ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ। ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਪੁੱਜਣ 'ਤੇ ਸਵਾਮੀ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਸਾਥੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਹਰਭਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ, ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਮੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਭਾਈ ਸੁਖਦੇਵ ਸਿੰਘ, ਮਾਸਟਰ ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸੰਤ ਅਮਰਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਧੂਰਕੋਟ, ਬਾਬੂ ਤਰਸੇਮ ਲਾਲ ਧਰਮਕੋਟ, ਸ. ਅਵਤਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਖੰਨਾ, ਗੁਰਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਲੋਟ ਆਦਿ ਵਲੋਂ ਭਰਪੂਰ ਸਵਾਗਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਸਵਾਮੀ ਨਾਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਗਸਤ੍ਰ ਮੁਨੀ, ਸਵਾਮੀ ਵਿੱਦਿਆ ਚੇਤਨ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਆਰ. ਕੇ ਸ਼ਰਮਾ, ਸੰਜੇ ਗੌਤਮ, ਮੇਨਕਾ ਭਾਟੀਆ, ਸ਼ਤਿੰਦਰ ਵਰਮਾ, ਸੋਨੂੰ ਕੌਸ਼ਲ ਆਦਿ ਸ਼ਖਸੀਅਤਾਂ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਪਹੁੰਚੀਆਂ।

ਇਥੇ ਇਹ ਵਰਣਨਯੋਗ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਚੰਦਰਾਸਵਾਮੀ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੌਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਹਲਕਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਰੀ ਅਹਿਮੀਅਤ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੌਰੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਜਿਥੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਨਾਲ ਗੁਪਤ ਮੀਟਿੰਗ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ, ਉਥੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਟੂਡੈਂਟਸ ਫੈਡਰੇਸ਼ਨ ਦੇ ਨੇਤਾਵਾਂ, ਸਿਆਸੀ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸ਼ਖਸੀਅਤਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਇਕੱਲੇ ਤੌਰ 'ਤੇ ਮੀਟਿੰਗਾਂ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਮੱਸਿਆ ਤੇ ਟਾਡਾ ਅਧੀਨ ਨਜ਼ਰਬੰਦ ਨੌਜਵਾਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਿਹਾਈ ਦੀ ਖੁਲ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਗੱਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਵਾਮੀ ਦੀ ਇਸ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਫੇਰੀ ਨਾਲ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ 'ਤੇ ਦੂਰਰਸ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਪੈਣ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਹਨ।

ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਕਲੇਰਾਂ ਵਿਖੇ ਤਾਂਤਰਿਕ ਚੰਦਰਾਸਵਾਮੀ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਮੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਨਕਸਰ ਵਾਲੇ, ਸਿੱਖ ਸਟੂਡੈਂਟਸ ਫੈਡਰੇਸ਼ਨ ਮਹਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਜਨਰਲ ਸਕੱਤਰ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਗਰੇਵਾਲ ਵਿਚਾਰ-ਵਟਾਂਦਰਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ। (ਫੋਟੋ : ਭੰਡਾਰੀ)

ਸਿਟੀ ਪੁਲਸ ਤਰਨਤਾਰਨ ਨੇ ਦੋ ਪੇਸ਼ਾਵਰ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਫੜੀਆਂ

ਤਰਨਤਾਰਨ, 28 ਨਵੰਬਰ (ਪੰਨੂ)—ਸਿਟੀ ਪੁਲਸ ਤਰਨਤਾਰਨ ਦੀ ਪੁਲਸ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਥਾਣਾ ਇੰਚਾਰਜ ਬਲਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਸਨ, ਡੀ. ਐੱਸ ਪੀ. ਰਾਜਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿਟੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਹਦਾਇਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਦੋ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗ੍ਰਿਫਤਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਰੰਗ ਰਲੀਆਂ ਮਨਾਉਣ ਦੀਆਂ ਤਿਆਰੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਲੱਗੇ ਸਨ। ਦੋਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਥਾਣਾ ਸਿਟੀ ਤਰਨਤਾਰਨ ਵਿਖੇ ਬੰਦ ਕਰਕੇ ਧਾਰਾ 109 ਅਧੀਨ ਕੇਸ ਦਰਜ ਕਰਕੇ ਕਾਨੂੰਨੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ।

CS's statement during his visit to Punjab dated 29 December 2000

DOCUMENT 46

(4) नई दिल्ली, शुक्रवार, 25 फरवरी, 2000

जाली मतदान का विरोध करने पर पुलिस के डंडे पड़े

हमारे संवाददाता

बहादुरगढ़, 24 फरवरी। मतदान के दौरान हुई हिंसा एवं फर्जी मतदान के विरोध में शातिपूर्ण ढंग से प्रदर्शन कर रहे लोगों और आम पर पुलिस ने कहर बरपाया। प्रदर्शनकारियों के अलावा शहर में दुकानदारों एवं घरों में घुसकर तांडव मचाया। शांति बहाल करने की बजाय इस क्षेत्र में पुलिस आतंक का पर्याय बन गई। डर के मारे पूरे शहर के बाजार बन्द रहे। पुलिस के आतंकित माहौल से शहरवासी अभी तक उबर नहीं पाए हैं तथा शहर के सभी प्रमुख कांग्रेसी नेता एवं कार्यकर्ता भूमिगत हो गए हैं।

शहर में पुलिस द्वारा मचाए गए आतंक से ग्रामीण व शहरी कांग्रेसी कार्यकर्ताओं सहित आम आदमी इतना भयभीत है कि उसे चुनाव के नाम से डर लगने लगा है। साथ ही साथ ऐसे हालात हो गए हैं कि 25 फरवरी यानि आज मतगणना के दिन कांग्रेस पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता भय के कारण एजेन्ट बनने को तैयार नहीं हैं। बताया गया हे कि गत दिवस पुलिस अधीक्षक पृथ्वी सिह सैनी ने सैकड़ों पुलिस कर्मियों के साथ लाल चौक पर निर्दोष लोगों पर लाठीचार्ज किया जिसमें कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी रमेश दलाल, जोगिन्द्र, एक अज्ञात वृद्ध व्यक्ति, पूर्व मंत्री मांगेराम नम्बरदार व हविपा युवा नेता गजराज सिंह सहित सैकड़ों लोगों की पिटाई की गई, जिनमे कईयों को गहरी चोटें आई हैं।

उक्त घटना के बाद पुलिस अधीक्षक ने पूरे दलबल के साथ कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी के कार्यालय पर धावा बोल दिया । इस संदर्भ में कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी के कार्यालय प्रभारी जोगेन्द्र सिंह ने जानकारी देते हुए बताया कि हरियाणा पुलिस कर्मियों ने उनके कार्यालय में घुसकर कार्यकर्ताओं को बड़ी बेरहमी से पीटा, टेलीफोन तोड़ा, कुर्सियों सहित अन्य सामान तोड़ा व एक लाख 52 हजार रुपये लूट कर ले गये। उन्होंने बताया कि भाडौटी गांव के मन्नु सरपंच सहित नरेश, सनबीर उर्फ बबलू, बलजीत निवासी आसौदा व लगभग 76 वर्षीय वयोवृद्ध रामकिशन जिसके पैर का आपरेशन हो रखा है और वो चल भी नहीं सकता, उसको भी पुलिस ने निर्ममतापूर्वक पीटा है।

कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी के कार्यालय के निकटवर्ती एक चिकित्सक ने पुलिस द्वारा की गई कार्यवाही की कड़े शब्दों में निंदा करते हुए कहा कि उनके सामने पुलिस कर्मियों ने हविपा प्रत्याशी राजपाल आर्य व सुमित टेलीफोन सैंटर के पड़ौसी मालिक की निर्दयतापूर्वक पिटाई की और उसके शीशे के गेट सहित अन्य चीजों को तोड़कर हजारों रुपए का नुकसान कर दिया।

कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी व उनके कार्यालय सचिव जोगिन्द्र ने आरोप लगाते हुए कहा कि चुनाव आयोग द्वारा दी गई खर्चे की रिटर्न बूक सहित सभी फाइलें पुलिसकर्मी उनके कार्यालय से उठा कर ले गए जिसके संदर्भ में चुनाव आयोग से डप्लीकेट रिटर्न बुक देने की माग की है तथा पुलिस को पुलिसकर्मियो द्वारा की गई लूटपाट व हिंसा की शिकायत लिखित रूप में उनके द्वारा दी गई तो थाना प्रभारी रामचन्द्र व अन्य पुलिस कर्मियों ने शिकायत लेने से न सिर्फ मना कर दिया बल्कि उनके साथ हाथापाई की व दुर्गति करने की धमकी भी थाने के अन्दर दी गई।

सूत्रों के अनुसार हविपा नेता एवं पार्टी प्रत्याशी राजपाल आर्य को पुलिस कर्मियों ने बेरहमी से पीटा तथा कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी के कार्यालय पर बादली विधानसभा क्षेत्र से कांग्रेस पार्टी के प्रत्याशी नरेश शर्मा को भी बुरी तरह पीटा गया जिनको गहरी चोटे आई हैं।

नरेश शर्मा ने संवाददाता को बताया कि उन्हें चुनाव के खर्चे का हिसाब देने के लिए एच आर.ओ. से मिलना था इसलिए वे बहादुरगढ़ आए थे।

यहां कांग्रेस पार्टी के कार्यालय में उन्हे कार्यकर्ताओं ने मामले की जानकारी देते हुए सज्जन कुमार पूर्व सांसद का फोन नम्बर पर घटना की सूचना देने के लिए मांगा था। उन्होंने बताया कि प्रदेश कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष भूपेन्द्र सिंह हुड्डा से फोन पर बात करके मामले की जानकारी देते हुए पूर्व सांसद सज्जन कुमार का नम्बर लिया था कि इसी बीच 250-300 के लगभग पुलिसकर्मी आए और कार्यालय के बाहर बैठे कार्यकर्ताओं को बेरहमी से पीटना शुरू कर दिया।

उन्होंने कहा कि वे कार्यालय के अन्दर बैठे हुए थे। कई पुलिस कर्मियो ने उन्हें जबरदस्ती बाहर सड़क पर लाकर पीटा। शहरी लोगों ने बताया कि पुलिसकर्मियो ने पूरे शहर में दुकानों व घरों मे घुसकर लोगों को पीटा और लूटपाट की।

गत रात्रि लगभग 12 बजे प्रदेश कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष भूपेन्द्र सिह हुड्डा ने डी.आई जी पुलिस हरियाणा व आई.जी रोहतक व अन्य अधिकारियो से उक्त मामले पर बातचीत की।

सूत्रो ने बताया कि कांग्रेस प्रत्याशी पर दर्ज थाना प्रभारी की हत्या का प्रयास यानि धारा 307 हटा दी गई है तथा मतगणना तक मतपेटियों की सुरक्षा के लिए इस क्षेत्र मे सी आई.एस एफ को लगाया गया है। हरियाणा पुलिस की बर्बरता के शिकार दो युवक दिल्ली के अस्पताल में दाखिल बताए गए हैं जिनकी हालत चिंताजनक बताई गई है।

Police lathicharge on Congressmen during Haryana Assembly election of February, 2000

DOCUMENT 47

Mr. Edwin. J. Feulner, Jr 10th December, 1986
President
The Heritage Foundation
214, Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Edwin,

I appreciate receiving your report, "'The Rajiv Gandhi Dilemma: A Policy Framework for Tomorrow," which I have circulated to the offices concerned within the Agency. In reviewing our own channels in India and allocation of collection and analytical resources we shall bear closely in mind the issue priorities that you and your distinguished colleagues have pinpointed.

I was particularly interested in what the foundation had to say about Gandhi's political opponents within the National Congress and among the opposition and their ability "to ignite an internal turmoil at the right time". Your point that "a clever move by the opposition might bring about an avalanche of accusations against Rajiv's inner circle and later against Rajiv himself" is right on the mark. One of my objectives is precisely to stimulate analysis of the implications for US security of Gandhi's is disappearance from the political scene...notably with respect to winning India away from the Russian embrace.

I commend you for managing to find such a clear-out policy ground as you have. As we in the Administration complete our own formulation of tactical aims toward India. I hope that you and your associates will turn your attention to the no less complex task of identifying the specific policy options that best balance the often conflicting general objectives you discuss in the paper.

Yours sincerely,

(William. J. Casey)
CIA Chief

DOCUMENT 48

INFORMATION REGARDING PRESENCE OF SIVRASAN AND DIXON ACCUSED PASSED ON TO DIB FROM SIB IN THE ASSASSINATION OF SHRI RAJIV GANDHI

(i) Fax message No 255/91 dt. 22-2-91 from JD/SZ, Madras (N.V. Vasthsan) to D.I B.:

"4.......... .

(b) Four important cadres belonging to INT wing of LTTE including (b) Four Raghuvaran (Sivrasan) (who was involved in the assassination of Padmanabha, the EPRLF leader) and Rajaguru are in Vedaranyam area since Nov. '90. They are supposed to be using bullet motor cycles and leading a deceptive but luxurious life."

(ii) Fax message No. 258/91 dt. 23-2-91 from JD/SZ, Madras (N.V. Vasthsan) to D.I.B.:

....Intelligence

4. "Four INTELLIGENCE men belonging to Pottu (Intelligence Chief of the LTTE) had left MADAHAL, place in Sri Lanka, separately on different dates to reach Vedaranyam two months ago. This information was revealed by smugglers who had taken them across to India. Kiruban, LTTE in charge of the Tamil Nadu unit, had also confirmed the presence of Raghuvaran (Sivrasan) and three others in Vedaranyam coast The purpose of their visit is not known."

(III) SIB/Madras· Computer Message No. 385/91 Dated 15 04.91

".. Raghuvaran (Sivrasan) of LTTE who was involved in the massacre of EPRLF cadres including Padmanabha in June 90 at Madras, is presently in Madras. He was sighted at Anna Nagar on April 13, 91."

The SIB, Madras had also suspected in March, 1991, that the arrival of LTTE Intelligence group members in Tamil Nadu was for the purpose of some operation. This becomes evident from the letter written by the then Joint Director, SIB, Madras to the I.B. Headquarters requesting for decoding of intercepted wireless messages of the LTTE. The letter, dated 21st March, 1991, inter alia, states that ".... .. .. We have reason to believe that some of the communications between Stations '96', '95' and '91' intercepted and sent to you... In February and March, 1991 contain some very important information about the activities of the men belonging to the Intelligence Wing of the LTTE in Tamil Nadu. The need for knowing what the INT men of the LTTE are up to is of utmost importance to us as there is every likelihood that these men constitute hit squads of the militant Organisation..."

(iv) Computer Message No. 298/91 Dated 05.03.1991 From JD/SZ, Madras to D.I.B.

"It Is reliably learnt that Dixon, who was earlier manning the clandestine wireless communication station at Madras, has since come back to Tamil Nadu probably on March 3, 1991. He is likely to re-establish the links between 'land', London and 'KP'. His arrival had been made known to Kittu in London. Dixon would be code named 'Thingal' for the time being (efforts are on to locate Dixon).

(v) Computer Message No. 337/91 Dated 18.03.1991 From JD/SZ Madras to D.I.B.

"Dixon, a radio operator of LTTE...has surfaced in Madras on March 17 According to available Indications, he was trying to contact 'KP' from Madras. Dixon is suspected to have gone back to Tiruchirapaill on March 17."

DOCUMENT 49

WIRELESS MESSAGES BETWEEN CALL SIGN 91 (POTTU AMMAN) AND 95, 910 (SIVRASAN)

19-20, 3, 91 91 to 95
India has decided to co-operate with Sri Lankan Government to contain the "TIGERS".

21.3.91 95 to 91
Rajiv Gandhi is coming to Madras on this 30.

21-22.3.91 95 to 91
(Should attempt at Madras or at the Capital? If in Capital, it requires strenuous efforts and sufficient time. If to attempt on (Date) give reply.)

21-22.3.91 95 to 91
Nehru would be better to start the Set (Wireless Communication).
(Comment : We know now that Nehru was the Wireless Operator for Raghuvaran.)

91 to 95
If I send one of my men, can you train him to drive vehicle in crowded city You buy a vehicle.

....

6.4.91 95 to 91
(We) have telephone contacts with Kittu (London) and Kunder (Raghu @ Kundar, former LTTE in charge, Tamil Nadu Unit).

6-7, 4, 91 95 to 91
It is difficult to send person before the stipulated date (by you). It can be send later, establish contacts and then inform.

7.5.91 95 to 91
She is the elder daughter of Indu Master's house. Nobody knows our real intention (excepting us). Has suggested that we have to support any political party. Has told that we have welcomed V.P. Singh and so other leaders.
(Comment: Now we know that Indu Master is Das @ Murugan arrested along with Nalini. Perhaps the reference is to Assassin.)
Contd...
I am approaching her slowly. If we tell the real intention, she may be more stubborn than us. There is no doubt about it.
(Cadres ?) have also moved with her closely. (She is) completely satisfied.
(Cadres) feel that it would be better to reveal our intentions. (You) can trust her.
If I return I will return as your (hero?). I am sure of clinching the powder deal (meaning the assassination?)

22.5.91 91 to 95
There is a news that there is violence in your place. What is that?
Is there any incident of attack on Sri Lankan Tamils. The vehicle will come to any place of your choice on 2nd. Start and meet me.

contd.

Contd...
Even to our people in higher places we informed that we have no connection with this.

12.6.91 91 to 910
Have you collected the 3 kg. gold due to you from Santhan. If not, give an address where it can be delivered
. . . .

910 to 91
'Had collected gold from Santhan.'
(Pottu Amman had intimated to Sivarasan that 'Trichy Santhan' had agreed to harbour the killer squad. The relevant intercept is reproduced below:)

"19.6.91 91 to 910
Santhan has agreed to help. If you require their help, I can help you.
It difficult to travel by trucks. You require a good (supporter) driver and cleaner.
....
(Do you) have contact with Santhan? (Inform me) where and when you would to meet Santhan?

19.6.91 (0815 to 0823 hrs.) 910 to 91
When and where to meet Santhan at Madras. Intimate place and time. Santhan is likely to come to 'land'.
....

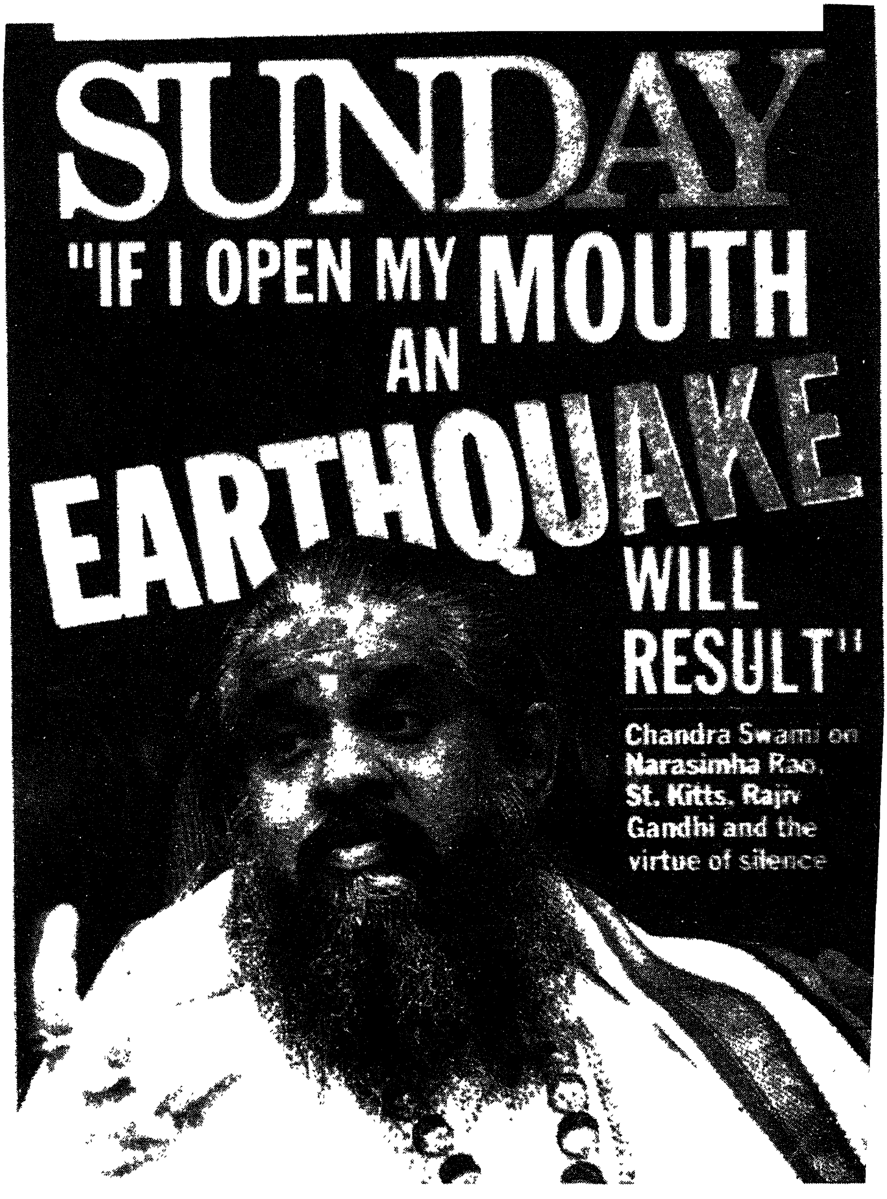
20.6.91 (07 TO 0810 HRS) 91 to 910
(I will) enquire from Santhan whether he can take you to the shore safely.

21.6.91 (0800 hrs.) 910 to 91
I will meet Santhan tomorrow and discuss with him. Mani is also with him.
....
Even if you could discuss with Santhan and arrange a place to safeguard youself, you need not get in touch with Ramanan or Neelan.
....
Contd.... 91 to 910

Whether all of you have cyanide capsules? Did Indu Master have cyanide capsule? Does he know the message given by us?
(1615 hrs)
Even if safe place is arranged after talking to Santhan. Don't have contact with Ramanan and Neelan. if Neelan and Ramanan are not having cyanide capsules arrange through Ravi.
If vehicle is arranged only Raghuvaran, Nehru and Nitya need come.

23.6.91 (16.00 hrs) 91 to 910
In Indian news it is learnt that a Special Police Force was formed to arrest both of you. Be careful about this Special Force. They are tyring to capture you alive, using tear gas, other gases they may try to thwart your attempt to consume cyanide unexpectedly.

DOCUMENT 50



Interview of CS in *Sunday* magazine after his release

DOCUMENT 51

Probe to unravel conspiracy angle

BY R. BHAGWAN SINGH

RAJIV ASSASSINATION CASE

Chennai, June 18: A new chapter has begun in the ambitious hunt for clues to unravel the conspiracy behind the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991 with a Tada special court here sanctioning such a probe by the Multi-Disciplinary Monitoring Agency of the CBI on the basis of the recommendations made by the Jain Commission and the Centre's Action-Taken-Report.

Tada judge Tamizhvanan on Thursday allowed a petition from MDMA to begin the probe into the conspiracy to murder Rajiv Gandhi by an LTTE suicide bomber during his election campaigning at Sriperambudur on May 21,1991. The judge also allowed another plea from the agency to conduct future proceedings in the court "in camera" in view of "certain confidential issues involved in the case." Further hearing in the case would be held on July 21.

The Tada court returned as incomplete an earlier petition from the MDMA in February seeking permission to probe conspiracy. The agency had at that time cited the LTTE leader Velupillai Pirabhakaran, LTTE's intelligence wing chief Pottu Amman and its women's wing deputy leader Akila as the accused in the assassination.

The MDMA functions from Delhi and is headed by a joint director. It was formed in January pursuant to a parliamentary debate on the ATR of the Jain Commission which probed the conspiracy angle in the Rajiv murder. The commission had recommended the role of certain public figures, including Chandraswami, should be further investigated.

Hindu — 19 June, 1999

DOCUMENT 52

(National Herald, N. Delhi 30 May, 1991)

FOREIGN FORCE BEHIND KILLING

MADRAS, MAY 29 (PTI). A FOREIGN force was 'definitely' involved in the Sriperumbudur bomb blast which killed former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and 17 others on May 21 last, evidence gathered by the investigators reveals.

Official sources here said that first-of-its kind the vest-jacket belt-bomb used in the assassination was made abroad by a highly-professional and skilled group of experts and brought to India with the specific motive of killing Mr. Gandhi.

The technology used in the making of the bomb and its highly complex system of operation were not available with any Indian militant group. The device must have been smuggled into the country , the sources said.

"This is no local job. A highly skilled and trained terrorist group abroad must have been behind the blast," an investigator said.

The finding that a nine-volt battery with foreign markings had been used in the blast, had confirmed the foreign angle to the killing, the sources said.

The kind of plastic RDX explosive was also normally not available and it could be found only in the US, Germany and Japan, the sources added.

The vest-jacket bomb appeared to be tailor-made for Mr. Gandhi after taking into account the crowd behaviour. Mr. Gandhi's pattern of movements and security arrangements, the sources said.

The sources said no terrorist organisation in the country had the expertise to create a "human bomb"? or the kind of suicide squad to carry it out.

Only some international terrorist organisations had such suicide squads, the sources said, adding that the concept, execution and the professionalism involved, clearly revealed the foreign hand.

Investigator were studying the modus operandi of the well known terrorist groups especially that of their suicide squads so as to establish their identity, the sources said.

The use of some elements in India, particularly in Tamil Nadu, to carry out the plan, both in terms of back-up and logistics support, was also being investigated, the sources said.

Meanwhile, investigators have launched a vigorous hunt for two accomplices of the woman assassin of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi — a kurta-clad, burly "journalist" and a fair girl — who are believed to have been back-up suicide squads in case the assassin failed in her attempt.

Official sources said here that as bespectacled man, dressed in kurta-pyjama with a shoulder-bag and a scribbling pad in hand, was found standing near the assassin shortly before Mr. Gandhi was killed.

The man, who appeared to be a journalist or was posing as one was not among the deceased or injured and his whereabouts after the explosion are not known, the sources said. He could also have been a "human bomb" planning to kill Mr. Gandhi when he got down from the dais after the public meeting at Sriperumbudur.

Investigations are probing if he was an accomplice as he was not known to Congressmen or to the local press. As he was standing in a line meant for Congressmen waiting to garland Mr. Gandhi, his presence there was suspicious, the sources said.

Freed man says he will tell all in Rajiv case

'CHANDRASWAMY THE GODFATHER'

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

CHENNAI, May 12. — One of the 19 acquitted in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case has said he is ready to disclose everything", including who financed Sivarasan to execute the killing.

Ranganath, who was released at about 6.30 p.m. yesterday, said he is willing to tell all to the Multi-Disciplinary Monitoring Agency — set up by the Vajpayee government following the Jain Commission findings on the conspiracy angle of the case.

Ranganath said cryptically: "Chandraswamy is the godfather", but refused to elaborate. He said he was the only person to stay with Sivarasan and that he was forced to harbour him.

Ranganath and Subha Sundaram were two among the 19 acquitted to be released here. Looking happy and relieved, they were mobbed by a large gathering of media persons and volanteers of the Tamil Nadu Communist Party-ML and the Periyar Dravidar Kazhagam at the Chennai Central prison gates.

The crowd raised slogans in support of the LTTE and declaring victory to Tamils. Firecrackers were lit and the atmosphere was one of celebration. Police just stood by.

"I had given all the details to the then chief of the Special Investigation Team, Mr D R Karthikeyan. But I was silenced," Ranganath told reporters. "I am ready to disclose how Sivarasan went to Sriperumbudur (on the night when Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated) and how he got hold of foreign weapons in the country, which are not available here".

Ranganath, a 41-year-old Tamil based in Bangalore, had been been charged by the SIT for harbouring Sivarasan, Subha and five others in his house at Konanakunte, near Bangalore, after the assassination. When police raided the house, Sivarasan and Subha committed suicide.

Subha Sundaram, 57, whose physique had bordered on obesity, appeared to have lost considerable weight. Appearing calm and composed, he said: "I am happy and I am very grateful to all those who helped me."

He was whisked away by his brother. Mr Aru Kumar, to his house, where their 97-year-old mother eagerly awaited her son's return. "Last time (when the Designated TADA Court sentenced all 26 accused to death), I waited for him to return, only to be told that he was not coming," she said.

Sundaram went to his new home in the journalist's colony on the city's outskirts, where he had an emotional reunion with his wife and children.

Before his arrest, Sundaram was running a successful photo agency in the city.

Statement of Ranganath on his release — *Statesman*, 12th May, 1999

DOCUMENT 54

ACCOUNT WRITTEN BY SANTHAN ALIAS RAJ

Income received from Kanthan through Santhan	Rs. 9,50,000
Income received from Kanthan by Sivrasan	Rs. 9,50,000
<u>Expenditure</u>	
TO XY	Rs. 3,00,000
Delta (Murugan)	25,000
	5,000
AT	1,00,000
	3,50,000
	1,00,000
To XY through Delta	5,00,000
To Self (Sivrasan)	15,000

SIVRASAN'S DIARY
10. NOTE BOOKS SEIZED AT KODUNGAYUR A7 CONFESSION JAYA KUMAR

<u>RECEIPT</u>

<u>EXPENDITURE</u>

Kanthan	3,52,000		Sonia
10,000			
Kanthan	2,04,000		Petrol
45			
		Santhan	7,000
		Radhya Ayyah	20,000
		Vanan	2,000
		Chokkan	50,000
		Ruso	5,000
		Ruban	4,000
		Keerthi	10,000
		Hari Ayyah	50,000
20,000		Pillaigal	
		Neru	5,000
	5,56,000		

contd.

11. **22.7.91 Kottivakkam's diary**

Neelan	567.8	13.3.91 T.A.
4955.8		
12.3.91	477.7	15.3.91 T.A.
17,14,700/-		
	1045.5	
	Rs.	Rs.
24.3.91	17,10,000	5,45,000
	11,65,000	55,000
	5,45,000	6,00,000
Ravi	Rs. 10,00,000/-	
Kanthan	Rs. 1,40,000/-	

12. **16.5.91** **Sony Watch** Rs.

850		
	Sony	10,000
	Vanan	1,000
17.5.91	Ruso	10,000
	Petrol	50
	Auto	
80		
	R.P.	
30		

Ayya	25,000
Pillaigal	5,000
Neru	5,000

DOCUMENT 55

Ramesh Dalal

Dated: 27th July, 2000

My Dear **Mrs. Sonia Gandhi,**

Please refer to my brief note of 14th Match, 2000, in which I happened to inform you about a major challenge to your leadership by Rao's faction in the Congress. There, I had written to you in advance that the dissident Congressmen and leaders who had left the party earlier, had conspired to marginalise you. The credibility of my information got confirmed with the news of late Rajesh Pilot's decision to contest the election for the Congress president's post. Pilot was a straightforward man and of course his permature death came as a great shock to all of us.

Post his death, Rao and other leaders who were referred to in my note, are still busy trying to realise their nefarious plot. Also the contents of my information to you turned out to be true when, three news items appeared in a daily newspaper on 21 June, 13 July and 19 July. Incidentally, the said news items revealed the same conspiracy, listing involvement of the persons mentioned by me some four months ago in my note to you.

We all know that since the assassination day, there has been several attempts by the 'hidden' assassins to irretrievably bury the conspiracy.

Thereafter too I had written a letter to you on the 24th of May disclosing that there appears a clear nexus between the CIA and the CS to eliminate you, either politically or physically.

It puzzled me then no end that despite my earnest request to meet you in order to reveal the definitive knowledge about the cospirational move of the dissidents, why did you not consider giving me a hearing? Later on SS met you and presented his book 'The Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi'.

Immediately after the meeting, he claimed before Media that you had denounced the MDMA. Personally, I have never believed his claim about your utterance because he is one of the most unreliable, scheming politicians in India. So when you are seen supporting or meeting such people, it tends to send wrong messages to your followers as well as the masses who believe in your leadership. Subramanian Swamy's book is basically a rehashed attempt to 'unfold' the plot in light of the findings already made public by the Jain Commission probe. All told, his book bears zero newsworthiness and has completely failed to expose any fresh evidence. Instead it has helped muddle-up whatever little clarity that existed prior to that publication.

I ought to mention here Madam, that I am squarely anguished at your persistent denial to meet me — especially when you had no hesitation in meeting a dubious personage of Subramanian Swamy. It is common knowledge that eseentially Swamy is a political trapeze artist with no loyalty to anyone except his own Self. Swamy's self-aggrandising attempt — you must understand — was to mislead the government in compelling it to wind up the MDMA — a probe agency doing commendable work under the tutelage of the CBI

Also it is no secret that Swamy, at core is a diehard RSS man masquerading as a Liberal and has all through his political career carried a devious hidden agenda in all activities, including his intellectual pursuits.

At present, I am engaged in writing a book unearthing a wider International conspiracy titled **"Rajiv Gandhi's Assassination — The mystery unfolds"** Mind you, I hold no personal grudge against Swamy but contrary to his publicity seeking attempt, my book aims to unfold the mystery, unearth the devilish conspiracy and expose the killers so far untraced.

Ever since gaining political awareness, I have been a loyal Congressman and have remained so through all the Ups and Downs of my beloved party, rebuilding a base at the grassroots solely guided by my faith in your distinguished leadership. If an unflinching Loyalty does not buy me an audience with you, what else can? Please elaborate.

I need not say any more here.

Keeping in view, the legitimate right of you, your followers and the Public-at-large to know the **real truth**. I would appreciate an early meeting with you in order to seek your considered opinion before the book is out.

Your response is anxiously awaited.

I Remain,
Yours Faithfully,

Ramesh Dalal

DOCUMENT 56

(News Today, 24 July, 1991)
***LTTE struck deal through contact men in Paris, London**
***Anti-aircraft gun part of weaponry recently acquired through slush funds**

Rs. 5,400 Cr. for Rajiv's life

"Wider global Conspiracy emerging"

Madras, July 24. Investigating agencies probing the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi do not rule out the possibility of a wider international conspiracy in which the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam had played the executioners's role for many considerations.

The suspicions of a wider ramification have been strengthened by the use of a high range anti aircraft gun by the LTTE in its on going battle against the Sri Lankan forces at Elephant Pass in Jaffna. The anti-aircraft gun as well as the reported possession of aircraft appear to be recent acquisitions of the terrorist outfit and are believed to have been funded from the slush money it had got as part of the deal for Rajiv Gandhi's assassiation at the behest of the international organisation.

The probe team has received intelligence reports from various sources across the globe. According to one such report the "kill Rajiv" plot was hatched in Paris though the French government had nothing to do with it. According to this source, the US intelligence agency, the CIA, had drafted the plot with the help of the LTTE leaders and sympathisers residing in Paris. PLO leader Yasser Arafat is understood to have got wind of it and hence had warned Rajiv Gandhi about the possibility of an attempt on his life. Unfortunately for Rajiv Gandhi, the warning went unheeded.

CIA fears

The sources said that in the CIA designs, the return of Rajiv Gandhi to power, as indicated by all pre-poll surveys, was not in the interests of the US and hence his come back should be blocked even if it meant his physical elimination. It had reportedly approached the militants in J&K, Punjab and Assam. But they were unwilling. The LTTE was the last to be contacted and it agreed to the plan after initial hesitation.

contd.

The contact man was Pushparaj in Paris, LTTE supremo Prabhakaran was at first reluctant in view of the consistent support of the Indian government for the Tamil cause. The leadership was also divided on the issue with Mathiya and Balasingham stoutly opposing it. Prabhakaran ultimately agreed, motivated by desire to fulfil his vow of revenge against Rajiv Gandhi for sending the IPKF to Lanka and by his suspicions about the future policy of the Indian Government were Rajiv Gandhi to be re-elected.

Arms deal

The London based Kittu and Pushparaj were authorised by Prabhakaran to conclude the deal. The LTTE had demanded, in return for the life of Rajiv Gandhi, a sum of $ 300 crore (Rs. 5,400 crore as per the then prevailing exchange rate) to be paid in the form of sophisticated weaponry.

The LTTE was paid latest weapons worth Rs. 100 crore as first instalment following the receipt of which it drew a detailed blueprint for the assassination. A 15-member suicide squad was selected. While some of them reached Tamil Nadu by Sea landing along Thanjavur coast without valid passports, the rest entered with forged passports by air.

Change in plan

According to the initial programme, Rajiv Gandhi was to be assassinated in one of the northern states so that the onus could be laid on one of the secessionist and terrorist outfits operating there. But the security regimen in the northern States for Rajiv Gandhi was so tight that the LTTE found it impossible to get near him. After consulting Prabhakaran in Jaffna, it was decided that the assassination be done in Tamil Nadu where security arrangements were not impenetrable since the threat perceptions was relatively less high. Sivrasan, Subha, Thanu, Mukundan and Kanniraja were suitably instructed. Local contacts like Murugan, Robert Payas, Bakiyanathan and Nalini were given money liberally and the plan to kill Rajiv Gandhi 21st May at Sriperumbudur was finalised.

Pushparaj arrived in Madras 20 May and met Sivrasan and Subha at his Santhom residence and provided cover to the duo till 25 May in the city.

DOCUMENT 57

RAJIV GANDHI

10 Janpath, New Delhi-110011

April 04, 1991

Dear Shri Chimanlal

You have in the past few months shared your views and suggestions with me and your letter has given me some thought provoking ideas.

In the past fifteen months of 'political experiment' we have all undergone 'political turmoil' and our country has been left directionless. Our problems have increased greatly with the uncertainty which has vexed everyone. Non-Congress Governments have failed and they have brought the country to standing and the credibility which had been consolidated by Panditji and Indiraji has been eroded.

We took the decision to support the Janata Dal (S) last year because the atmosphere was charged with communal tension and our country could ill afford elections. We trusted the Janata Dal (S) despite certain policy decisions taken by that Government which were against the basic tenets of the Congress.

Unfortunately, there was a total breach of trust when we found that surveillance was being carried out at my home. Our request for action against the persons involved was not acceded to by the very Government we supported.

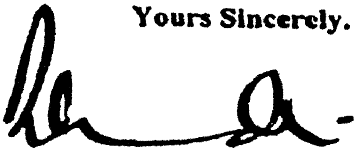
Total trust and faith is very important for effective functioning in Government and when such a breach takes place it is extremely difficult to restore any such relationship. And yet, we reiterate that we did not withdraw support and exercised great restraint. It was the Prime Minister's unilateral decision to resign.

For any country to progress, there has to be a stable Government with clear-cut policies. We, the Congress have in the past displayed such stability whereas other Governments have failed to do so.

I am confident that with your support and the support of your friends and colleagues we can form a stable Government at the Centre and can work hard together to build a strong and progressive India--the India of our dreams.

With best wishes.

Yours Sincerely.



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